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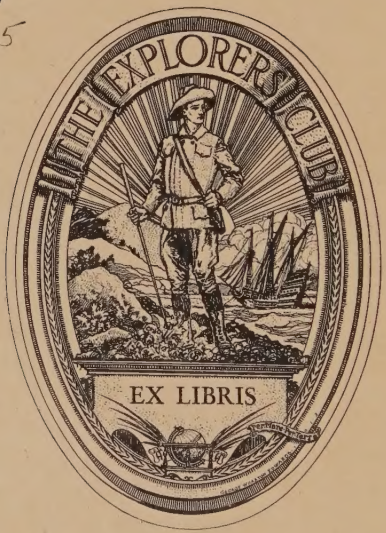

Presented by
Lee Garnett Day

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THE TRAVELS
OF
PETER MUNDY

VOL. IV

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No. LV

ISSUED FOR 1924

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THE TRAVELS
OF
PETER MUNDY
IN EUROPE AND ASIA
1608–1667

EDITED BY

Lt.-Col. SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt.,
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EDITOR OF "A GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF COUNTRIES
ROUND THE BAY OF BENGAL"

Vol. IV

TRAVELS IN EUROPE
1639–1647

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PREFACE

THE fourth section of the Mundy MS. is concerned with England and Wales, the Netherlands, Prussia, Poland and Russia. No other copy of this portion of Mundy's work, beyond that existing in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawl. A. 113), is known to exist.

As regards punctuation, contractions, spelling and marginal notes, the same system adopted in the previous volumes has been followed. Two contemporary MSS., one dealing with England and the other with the Continent, have been freely used to support or elucidate Mundy's statements. The former, Lansd. MS. 213, to be found at the British Museum, describes a "Seven Weekes Journey," starting from Norwich in August 1634, and the latter, MS. Rawl. C. 799, at the Bodleian Library, is a "Relation of sundry Voyages" made by Robert Bargrave in the years 1646–1656. Both MSS. have yielded valuable information and both are worthy the attention of a careful editor.

The only reference in general literature to this fourth section of Mundy's MS. that has come to my notice is in Morfill's *History of Poland*, p. 137, where the author writes: "An old English traveller, Peter Mundy, has left a MS. account of his adventures, still preserved in the Bodleian Library, containing some curious details about Poland which he had visited among other countries. He was present when the new Queen entered Poland, and has described some of the festivities which took place; among other cities the reception given at Danzig was very magnificent. He tells us that neither bridegroom nor bride were young; 'Hee then about 50, and shee 37 yeares of age[1].'" Morfill also alludes to Mundy on p. 271, but no other writer of European history in the middle of the seventeenth century appears to have taken advantage of Mundy's notes of contemporary happenings.

The illustrations, with the exception of the "greatt Tonne" and two of the figures in the costume plates, are all the work of Mundy's pen and pencil. They have been photographed

[1] See pp. 210–211 of this volume.

by the Oxford University Press and the detail, in many cases blurred, has nevertheless been preserved.

For the maps I have had the advantage of consulting the material at the R.G.S. and Mundy's routes have been traced under my direction by Miss Alice J. Mayes with her customary care and reproduced by Mr H. F. Milne, of the Royal Geographical Society, in a most satisfactory manner.

The wide scope of the present volume and the difficulties encountered in verifying Mundy's statements, historical, geographical, linguistic and scientific have compelled me to seek assistance from all quarters, and this, as heretofore, has been most generously accorded me. The list of helpers is even longer than in previous volumes and in every instance I have endeavoured to express my obligation in the notes to the text. I would also here tender my hearty thanks to the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens and his Staff at Kew for identification of plants; to Mr H. E. Balch, F.S.A., and Miss Balch for notes on Glastonbury, Wells and Bath; to the Rev. Canon Bazeley, F.S.A., for much information on Bristol and Gloucester; to Mr C. B. Shuttleworth for valuable notes on Worcester; to Messrs J. and J. Colman for contributions to the history of Tewkesbury mustard; to Miss Bertha Phillpotts, and Miss Margaret Ashdown for help with Danish puzzles; to Mr H. E. Malden, F.S.A., for identifying Mundy's "Bazingstone"; to Dr F. A. Bather and Mr W. L. Sclater for furnishing valuable natural history notes; to the Rev. H. Salter for information regarding Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford; to Mr W. H. Stevenson of St John's College, Oxford, for help regarding the Chapel of that institution; to Dr T. A. Walker, Bursar of Peterhouse, Cambridge, for his researches into the history of the Chapel there; to Mr Bernard P. Scattergood, F.S.A. and Mrs Maunder, Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, for examining Mundy's Appendices and obtaining expert opinion thereon; to Mr H. S. Kingsford of the Society of Antiquaries who put me in touch with many scholars; and to *Notes and Queries* through the medium of which several points were settled.

My special acknowledgements are also due to Mr J. G.

Wood, F.S.A., who supplied me with copious information relative to Mundy's tour in Wales; to Lieut.-Commr. G. T. Temple, R.N., retired, for valuable comments on Mundy's nautical observations; to Mrs Sonia E. Howe who placed her wide knowledge of Russian history and customs at my disposal; and to Mr Malcolm Letts, F.R.Hist.S., the well-known authority on seventeenth century European Travel, who most kindly read the whole volume in typescript and made many corrections and additions.

With regard to my own helpers, I wish to express my appreciation of the services of Miss E. G. Parker for her careful transcript of the MS., the hand-writing of which becomes increasingly difficult to read in its later stages; of the work of Miss Marie Vagner in unearthing little-known works by German authors to elucidate Mundy's text, in supplying historical notes and in giving me substantial assistance with Mundy's Samoyed vocabulary; and of the care and accuracy of my typist, Miss J. M. Foster. Lastly, I beg to acknowledge the valuable help given by the Reader of the Cambridge Press and to thank the Press itself for the excellence of its printing.

I cannot close these remarks without once more acknowledging my gratitude to Miss L. M. Anstey, my co-worker in the editing of the huge MS. of Peter Mundy. She has been with me since the work was undertaken, now nearly five and twenty years ago, and this time her labours have been more important to me than ever, as that indefatigable traveller's journeys recorded in this volume were wholly in England and Europe—more particularly in her line of study. The end of the work is at last within sight, as he took only one more voyage abroad—to the now almost forgotten factory of Rajapur in Western India in 1655. The rest of his MS., which he carried on to 1667, is concerned with matters that he thought worthy of record in England, and some of his observations are valuable indeed.

R. C. TEMPLE

MONTREUX
SWITZERLAND
January 1925

CORRECTIONS OF ERRORS IN PREVIOUS VOLUMES WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES[1]

Volume II

p. 158, l. 12

"They use a Cheere to their Guing."

"Guing" is probably for "ging," *i.e.* gang = boat's crew. W.F.

Volume III, Parts I and II

p. 8, last l. and note

"Portland...Stones...sent downe in Carts made of purpose."

I do not think that the Portlanders altered their ways much, until recent years. With regard to those solid-wheeled stone carts, the way they used to hold them back when going down hill was by inserting a stick or iron bar through a hole in the solid wheel. This caught in some part of the cart beyond the wheel, stopped it from revolving and formed a very effective brake. I saw this method followed as late as 1885. N.M.R.

p. 17

"The *Ann Royall* cast away in the Thames."

See *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, ed. W. G. Perrin (Navy Records Soc., vol. LI), p. 163. R.C.T.

p. 28, n. 4

"Blowne by the board."

Read "overboard" for "blown close to the ship's deck." W.F.

p. 65, n. 7

"A Quintal is 128 arrates."

Mundy's quintal of Goa corresponds closely with the Chinese *tan* or *shih* (picul) of Canton. His 128 + 2 per cent. = 130·5; he notes the Canton pikoe or peeco as being 130 lb.; and the theoretic Canton *tan* is 132·5. About 1730 the Company's supercargoes persuaded the Hong Merchants to fix the picul at 133·3 lb., partly

[1] The greater part of these corrections and additions has been supplied by the kindness of Sir Wm Foster, Dr H. B. Morse, Mr C. Otto Blagden and Mr Nelson M. Richardson, and my indebtedness is acknowledged by the addition of their initials after the note or emendation.

for convenience of calculation, but chiefly because they had more tea to buy than they had lead to sell; and by the treaties 1842–44 this weight was accepted as the weight of the Customs picul. H.B.M.

p. 113, n. 4

"Paules steeple."

For "steeple" read "tower." The steeple had been destroyed by fire. W.F.

p. 136, n. 2

Terms for a tael.

In China the string of 1000 cash, nominally of value of 1 tael, now called a *t'iao*, was in the Mongol (1280–1368) and Ming (1368–1644) periods called *kwan* (*cf.* my *Trade and Administration*, p. 141). This is the term noted as used in Cochin-China. H.B.M.

p. 78, n. 1

"Palma de Matto or Wild Palme."

My impression is that *palma de matto* means jungly, *i.e.* wild, palm, and that wild cinnamon was also termed *canella de matto*. W.F.

p. 136, n. 3

Exchange value of the tael.

I cannot understand that any tael of currency should have been so heavy as to have an exchange value of 4 Rs. of 8. No actual tael that I know in the Chinese world is outside the ex-values of $1.40–1.60, except that the "Shanghai Convention" tael is $1.375 at par of exchange. H.B.M.

pp. 137, n. 1, 338, n. 3

Value of the "Casse."

These are apparently statements of the value of one coin in terms of another coin; both to be distinguished from the units of account on p. 309.

p. 143 n.

Paragraph beginning "The King of Johor."

This King died *c.* May 1623 (not in 1637 as stated in the note) on the island of Great Zambĕlan, having been driven from Lingga by an Achinese fleet in March of that year. His sister did not marry Iskandar Mūda of Achin, but he himself married Iskandar Mūda's sister, see G. P. Rouffaer's article in *Bijdragen tot de Land, Taal en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie*, Deel 77, p. 596. Wilkinson, however, *History of the Peninsular Malays*, 3rd ed. 1923, still gives 1637 as the date of the death of Rāja 'Abdu'llah, ruler of Johor. C.O.B.

pp. 146–148, and maps facing p. 152

"Passed through the old straightt."

The "old straightt" could not have been the passage north of Singapore Island. See Barnes in *Journ. Straits Sett.* (R.A.S.), 1911, No. 60, pp. 24–34, who makes it quite clear that the "old" strait is the one through which the P. and O. and other mail steamers go at the present time, but which was the old historic passage from before the fifteenth century. Mundy's ship certainly went through it. He could not have gone through the passage north of the island for he says (p. 146) it is "aboutt a good league in length" and there are "many little...Ilands." The passage round the neck must be at least 4–5 leagues, and there are not many islands in it.

Further to the south still, is the passage, called in old days, "Governor's Straits," which is still used by coasting boats, etc. that intend to lie in the roads and not to go alongside in the New Harbour.

So there are three well known passages, Mundy's being the middle, and really the old classic one. C.O.B.

Note 3 on p. 146 and the route shown on the map should be rectified accordingly. R.C.T.

p. 149, n. 1

"Point Romaina" (Tanjong Panyuso, Point Wet-nurse).

The proper spelling is Pěnyusok (the final *k* being mute) which excludes the connection with *susu*, "breast milk" and the inferred "wet-nurse" etymology. It merely means "projecting," from *susok*, "point," "cock's spur," etc. C.O.B.

pp. 165, 172

"The Caphila...From Cantan."

In referring to a commercial fleet as a *kāfila*, Mundy is following the practice of the time in Western India (*cf. Eng. Fact.* 1651–54, pp. 216, 217). W.F.

p. 187, n. 3

"A towne called Fumaone."

"Fumaone" must be Fumun (Cant.) =Hu-měn (Mand.) =Boca Tigris. The "towne" was probably a village near by. H.B.M.

p. 190

"A Pagode or China Church."

Pagode in French is always a Buddhist temple, never what we in China call a pagoda. Mundy thus uses the term in a sense now never employed by English but still used by French and other Latin peoples. H.B.M.

p. 192, n. 4

"The Morrow of the New Moone."

For "feasts occurring at the new and full moons on the 8th and 23rd of the month" read "new and full moons *and* on the 8th" etc. H.B.M.

p. 208, ll. 12–14

"An annuall investment of 1,500,000 taies, which is Nere to 1,000,000 of Ryall [of] eightt."

Mundy has his figures inverted. The rate given in n. 4 is approximately correct, 10:7, at which rate 1,000,000 *taels* = 1,428,571 Rs. of 8. But the Spanish dollar was in those days taken at 94 fine, while the Canton Szema tael was and is nominally 100 fine; and the equivalent of 100 taels would be 151·9756 dollars. In modern times the silver of Mexican dollars is taken to be 90 fine, and the equivalent is not ·7 but ·72, and actually 100 taels = 152·777 dollars. See *Trade and Administration of China*, Ch. V (Canton tael, p. 157 in ed. of 1913). H.B.M.

p. 213, l. 8

"Tootan who is viceroy."

I find that, though the Gov. Genl. is addressed and styles himself Tu-pu-t'ang, he is also designated Tu-t'ang. I never came across it in my personal experience, but it is in the dictionary. There is another high official styled Tu-t'ung, but he is Manchu, and Mundy was at Canton just before the fall of the Ming dynasty. Each of the eight Manchu Ki or Banners was divided into three Kusai (Nations), the Manchu, Mongol, and Chinese of the Conquest; each Kusai had at its head a Tutung, usually translated Lieutenant General.

Tut'ang is in Cantonese *takt'ang*, or in seventeenth century English romanisation *tucktong*. Peter Auber has for the Viceroy "Isontock," his misreading of the full style Tsungtu Putang (Cant. Tsungtak Putong). H.B.M.

p. 214, l. 23

"The Visetador [Judicial inspector] and Viceroy."

Visitador is a literal rendering of Hsün-fu = visiting inspector. His proper designation is Fu-pu-yuen, colloquially Fu-t'ai = Governor of a province, ranking with, but after, the Viceroy. H.B.M.

p. 221, l. 4

"For 2Uooo peeces [loaves] of sugar" read "2Uooo peecos [picul] of sugar." R.C.T.

p. 282, n. 1

"A little Iland in the midst of the ryver."

The "little Iland" is probably the Pearl of the Sea. *Cf. International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. I., illust. at p. 498. H.B.M.

p. 288, ll. 10–11.

"Hee was brought in an open Chaire beetweene 2 Men."

The chair with two bearers indicates that the man was not of the official hierarchy, but that he held an official position (*e.g.* Clerk of Court) under such an official; *i.e.* the ensignes, hautboies, etc. indicate official position, but two bearers show its low degree. (I am assuming that customs under the Ming were the same as under the Tsing.)

The official hierarchy went in four-bearer chairs: those appointed from Peking, including Hien, Viceroys and Governors, were entitled to eight bearers, but I never saw them use more than four, except Li Hungchang *once* in the foreign settlements at Shanghai. The two-bearer chair was the conveyance of all from the simple subject up to the topmost of those not holding the Imperial Commission. That Mundy was much impressed by the Mandarin in the two-bearer chair does not surprise me, since to early comers *omne ignotum*, etc. But the officer he describes appears to be the Tsotang. The Portuguese in Macao were kept under the control of the Chinese in matters territorial, judicial, and fiscal. The territorial and judicial responsibility for them was on the Hien of Hiangshan, in which *hien* Macao lay. He appointed a Tsotang (colloquial term, the official designation being Hien-ch'eng), Assistant District Magistrate. We read constantly of the Tsotang as exercising his functions in Macao—giving license to build a house, collecting land tax, conducting judicial inquiries, detailing a pilot for a ship—all functions, in fact, except those pertaining to Customs dues. H.B.M.

p. 304, l. 4

"For 11 tymes soe much in silver" etc.

As the silver of Rs. of 8 is 900 fine, this makes the ratio 1:10. The natural inference is that the gold was of less than 100 touch, but on the ratio in theory see *Trade and Administration*, pp. 122, 143.

p. 309, n. 4

"1 Casse vallued att 10 Aguos."

The *liang*, or tael, has not been constant in Chinese history. Under the Chow dynasty 1122–255 B.C. the *liang* probably weighed about 6·3 grammes =97·5 grains. The reforming "First Emperor" in 221 B.C. ordained a new standard of weight, by which on the

authority of a bronze inscribed weight of that date described by Mr F. H. Chalfant, the *liang* was 16·35 grammes = 252·5 grains. This lasted presumably through the Han and the centuries of disturbance following it. When the standard was again raised, I do not know, but when the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618–906) issued the first coins with dynastic or regnal inscriptions, they were in weight $\frac{1}{10}$th (and in value $\frac{1}{1000}$th) of the modern *liang*, which now-a-days ranges, according to the standard, from about 570 to 583 grains. Thus we have in history three standards for the *liang*; and all three could not have been based on the *abrus*. H.B.M.

p. 309, n. 5

"The Decimation of their Coine": tael worth 1000 cash.

This was probably true, but it does not follow from Mundy's statement. *Cf. Trade and Administration* (ed. 1913) p. 122. The *li*, the thousandth part of a tael, is always in theory the coin (cash), but in the last century and more, not in practice. The alloy of coins from the mints is of copper and zinc (yellow coins), from some mints of copper and lead, giving red coins. For cost see *Trade and Administration*, p. 124. H.B.M.

p. 313

"Same Maane," etc.

Mundy is mistaken. *Man* is a myriad, not a *lakh*. No Chinese would ever say "forty-five thousand," but "four myriads five thousand."

100,000 = ten myriads.
1,000,000 = one hundred myriads or (not in general use) one *chao*.
345678 = (in Cantonese) *Sam shap sz man ng ts'in luk pa'k ts'at shap pat*.

H.B.M.

p. 318 near bottom

"January 1637. Monday, the First Day of the Yeare, Month and Weeke."

This is a curious mixture of (English) Old Style and (Portuguese) New Style. By O.S. the year is 1637, and by N.S. it should be 1638; while it is only by N.S. that it is the first day of the year.

p. 346, n. 1, l. 6

"Magnet...*tchu-chy* (Cant. *ts'z' shak*)."

Tchu-chy is French romanisation. In Wade's system it is *chih-shih*. Modern Chinese (Mandarin) for compass is *Chih-nan-ch'ê* = directing-south carriage; the compass needle is *chih-nan-chên* (*chên* being a sewing needle). H.B.M.

p. 414, 8 ll. from end

"Some had the Month of May," etc.

In guessing that Dutch reckoning was from March (see note 3) Mundy forgot that Dutch used New Style. However $\frac{2}{29}$ cannot mean 29 February, since neither 1637 nor 1638 was a leap year. Perhaps it should be $\frac{3}{29}$. W.F.

p. 482

Cargo shipped home.

On the basis of figures given by Mundy (Sugar Rs. 3·60, Sugar Candy about Rs. 5, Ginger Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$) I have made a rough estimate of the cost of the cargoes shipped and find it to be about, but not less than 60,000 Rs. of 8. As the Merchants had from first to last 52,000 Rs. at Canton, this leaves about 10,000 Rs. for the "limmitted trade" at Macao, which seems to be enough. The Merchants then were able to have the whole of their 52,000 Rs. for the purchase of goods; and it would seem that the intervention of Viceroy and Governor had rescued them from the clutches of the military officers (Haitao and Tsungping), leaving them to be fleeced only by the prices paid to the Cantonese traders.

The military in China have always been of low estate and little consideration, literates going into the civil service only; hence it is that Viceroys and Governors have always commanded armies engaged in active operations. H.B.M.

p. 482, l. 11

"$30\frac{1}{2}$ [picoes] loose gould, coste about 4333 Rs. 8."

There is evidently an error here. 4333 Rs. 8 at 4/6 = £975, equivalent to about 200 oz. troy = $16\frac{2}{3}$ lb. troy. They were unlikely to pay more than English value for gold, and in fact the price at Canton then was about one for ten or eleven: for a ten-tael shoe of 94 gold, 94 taels weight of dollar silver was paid, or thereabouts. If the "gould" was alloyed more than half, the $30\frac{1}{2}$ may have been lb. troy; if alloyed more than two-thirds the $30\frac{1}{2}$ may have been catties.

The suggestion of [picoes] does not seem justified.

The cost is not probably wrong, as they had 80,000 Rs. of 8 left after they had completed their investment. H.B.M.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE vii

ADDENDA TO VOL. III xi

INTRODUCTION xxv

RELATION XXXI 1–52

Mundy leaves Penryn for Stratton, 1. Visits Bideford, Barnstaple, Tiverton, Taunton and Bridgewater, 2–4. Glastonbury, the Holy Thorn, and Glastonbury Tor, 4–6. Bath, 7. Bristol, 8–9. Shooting for a prize, 10. Turnspit dogs, the Hotwell, Coalpits, 11. Gloucester Cathedral, 12–14. Abergavenny, Monmouth, Craig Fawr, Brecknock, 14–18. Hereford, the Wonder, 19–20. Tewkesbury mustard, 20–22. Worcester city and Cathedral, 22–24. Malvern Hills, the bore of the Severn, Cotswold Downs, 24–25. Oxford Colleges, 25–28. Woodstock and Rosamund's Well, 28. Theobalds, 29. Hatfield, 29. St Alban's Abbey, 30–31. Royston, 31. Sturbridge Fair, 32. Cambridge Colleges, 33. Great Bed of Ware, 34. Rochester Bridge, 34. The Chain at Chatham, 35. The *Royal Sovereign*, 35–36. Canterbury Cathedral, 37. Great fleet in the Downs, 37–39. Maidstone, 40. Battle of the Downs, 41–43. Banqueting House, Whitehall, 44. York House, 45. The Earl of Arundel's and Mr Hubert's curiosities, 46. The New Exchange, 47. St Faith's, 47. Seven things in which England excels, 47–51. The chiefest end of travel, 51–52. Computation of miles travelled, 52.

RELATION XXXII 53–81

Mundy starts for Holland, 53. Arrives at Gravesend, 53. Queenborough town and Castle, 54–56. Minster-in-Sheppy, 56. Making of Copperas, 57. In danger of shipwreck, 58–60. Anchors at Brielle, 60. A warning, 61. Rotterdam, 61–2. Rotterdam to Delft, 62–63. The Hague, 63–64. Making of peat, 64. Haarlem, Muiden and Weesp, 65. Foundation of Dutch Houses, 66–67. Amsterdam, population, funeral customs, churches, streets, 67–70. Jews at

PAGE

Amsterdam, 70. Arts and commerce, 70–72. Dutch ingenuity, 72. Public buildings in Amsterdam, 72–74. Clocktowers, 74. Dykes, 74. Tulip roots, 75. A Marriage custom, 76. Music-houses, 76–77. A Great tun, 78. Cranes, 78. The Dutch huke, 79. Coins in Holland, 79–80.

RELATION XXXIII 82–111

Mundy sets out for Danzig in company with a fleet, 82–84. Passes Jutland and Skagen, 84. Helsingör, a Lutheran church and a good inn, 84–86. The Sound, 86–87. Passes Copenhagen, 87. Arrives at Danzig, 88. Goes to Elbing and Königsberg, 89–90. The Elector of Brandenburg, 90. Trade in timber, 91–92. The Exchange and bridge at Königsberg, 92. The Haff, 93. Wild ducks and tame geese, 93. A long walk, 93. Castles, 94. Prussia and Russia compared, 94. Tapiau and Weelaw, 94. A boom described, 95. The Frisches Haff, 95. Corn-lighters, 96. Mundy starts for Thorn, 96. Towns passed, 97. Extreme cold, 97–99. Thorn described, 99–100. A Great Fair, 100. Jews at Thorn, 100–101. Mundy returns to Danzig, 101. Description of the journey, 102–106. A Barytone, 104–105. Fishing in frozen water, 106. An elk described, 107. Amber, 107–108. Wolves and bees, 108–109. Country inns described, 109. Stoves and Cackleovens, 110. Estimate of miles travelled, 111.

RELATION XXXIV 112–166

Mundy sets out for Archangel, 112. Arrives at Lübeck, 113. Oldesloe, 114. The song of the nightingale, 114. Hamburg described, 115–117. Costumes at Hamburg, 117–118. Neumühlen and Stade, 118. Glückstadt described, 119–120. Christian IV and the Hamburgers, 120. Astronomical observations, 121–124. North Cape, 125. The Mother and the Daughters, 125–126. Stockfish, 127. Finns and Lapps, 128. Vardö Islands, 129. Astronomical observations, 130–131. Sviatoi Nos, 131. Driftwood, 132. Ponoi and Cape Kuiski, 133. Mosquitoes, 134. The White Sea, 134–135. Archangel, 135–136. Samoyeds described, 136–138. Samoyed vocabulary, 139–141. Russian religion, churches, houses and stoves, 142–144. Russian costume, 145–146. Russian coins and weights, 147.

PAGE

Productions, 148–149. Punishment of thieves, 150. Measurement of time, 151. The Wyche family, 151–152. Russian boats, 152. Mundy sets sail for Danzig, 153. The Malström, 154–155. Heligoland, 165. Glückstadt Castle, 157. The Bishop of Bremervörde, 158. Bremen described, 159–160. Costumes at Bremen, 161. Lübeck described, 162–163. Costumes at Lübeck, 164. Mundy reaches Danzig, 165. Estimate of miles travelled, 166.

RELATION XXXV 167–225

Situation of Danzig, 167. Its streets, religion, parish church, city-wall and arsenal described, 168–172. Methods of punishment and remarks on the executioner, 172–177. Amusements at Danzig, 177–178. The Junkerhof, 179–181. English comedians, 181–182. Productions and trade, 182–184. The Clocktower and the Great Mill, 184. The Zuchthaus, 185. Street-singers, 185–186. Organs in the Parish Church, 186. "Spitts-Garres," 187. Prussia and India compared, 188. A parasite-bearer described, 189. Costumes at Danzig, 190–192. Cocks and Capons, 192–193. A Journey from Danzig to Warsaw, 194–199. Thorn Bridge described, 196–198. A "Monster" on Warsaw Castle Gate, 199. The Reichstag at Warsaw, 200. Luxury of Polish nobles and slavery of the peasants, 201–202. Gardens and mechanical contrivances at Warsaw, 202–204. Arsenal, 204. Journey from Warsaw to Danzig, 205–207. Grev Waldemar of Denmark at Danzig, 208–210. Festivities in honour of Marie Louise, second wife of Vladislaus IV of Poland, 210–211. English acrobats at Danzig, 212–213. Tilting described, 213–214. Specialities of Danzig, 214–215. Astronomical remarks, 216–218. Mundy sails for England, 1647, 219. Hveen and Tycho Brahe, 220. Reaches Skagen, 221. A curious method of fishing, 222. Herring-busses noted, 223. Anchors at Gravesend, 224. Arrives in London, 224. Starts for Cornwall, 224. Arrives at Falmouth, 225. Estimate of miles travelled, 225.

APPENDICES 226–234

Appendix II. Of travelling round the world eastward or westward, 226–227.

PAGE

Appendix III. Concerning the Paradox of the Earth's Motion, 228–229.

Appendix IV. Of the Spots in the Moon, the Eye of a Fly, etc., 230–232.

Appendix V. Of the Ringing of Bells in Changes, 233–234.

List of Fuller Titles of Books and Manuscripts quoted in the notes 235–252

Index 253–280

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE			PAGE
I.	No. 1.	A greatt Tonne	*To face* 78
II.	No. 2.	Brabants Huke	„ 79
III.	No. 3.	Habitts at Hamburg . . .	„ 117
IV.	No. 4.	Gluckstad: the kings gardein: the banquetting house therin . .	„ 119
		The North Cape	126
		The Mother and the Daughters .	126
		The Steeremans Trolle . .	127
V.	No. 5.	A Samoyed: his habitt . . .	*To face* 138
	No. 6.	Arckangell: their churches . .	„ 138
VI.	No. 7.	Habitt of the Russe or Moscovite .	„ 146
		Heiligland: der Munck . .	156
VII.	No. 8.	Bremen: habitts there . . .	*To face* 161
VIII.	No. 9.	Lubeck: weomens habitts . .	„ 164
IX.	No. 10.	Execution of Justice at Dantzigk .	„ 177
X.	No. 11.	Habitts used hereawaies (Dantzigk)	„ 190
		Cocks and Capons . . .	193
XI.	No. 12.	Two Arches of the Bridge att Torne	*To face* 197
XII.	No. 13.	An Instrument or Spheare . .	„ 226
		Jupiter with his 4 satellites . .	228
XIII.	No. 14.	[Phases of] the Moone . . .	*To face* 230
XIV.	No. 15.	The Moone 12 daies old . .	„ 232
	No. 16.	The head and eye of a Fly . .	„ 232
XV.	No. 17.	The Changes in Ringing of Bells .	„ 234

MAPS

		PAGE
No. I.	General Map showing the extent of Mundy's Four Journeys 1639 to 1647	*To face* 1
No. II.	Map showing Mundy's Petty Tour in England and his Tour round the Coast	„ 52
No. III.	Map showing Mundy's Journeys in the Netherlands, Germany and Denmark	„ 88
No. IV.	Map showing Mundy's Journeys Inland from Königsberg and Wehlau to Thorn and Warsaw . . .	„ 199

INTRODUCTION

THE journeys related by Mundy in this volume differ greatly from those previously recorded, in that they were undertaken at his own expense as a private individual, whereas hitherto he had travelled as an agent at the expense of his employers. His object was twofold:—"to Follow my habituall disposition off travelling, and partly (to Free my sellffe off some inconveniences I Found by living att home in the Country) to seek some other residence" (p. 1). Mundy is habitually reserved as to his personal affairs and his MS. gives no hint of the nature of the "inconveniences." It is uncertain whether his remark, after being the only spectator at a mariiage (p. 47) at "St. Faithes Church under [old St.] Paules," *viz.* "A licence was delivered the Minister, who speedily perfformed his office, and then sodainely departed; a businesse quickly don, butt [not] soe easily dissolved againe," refers to his unwillingness to enter the married state or to an unhappy experience after so doing. As already stated (vol. II. pp. lxxv–lxxvi) no record of his marriage has yet been traced, but as the elder son of Peter and Anne Mundy of Penryn was not baptised until December 1648, it seems reasonable to assume that Mundy was unmarried when he started on his European travels.

The journeys are recorded in five Relations, Nos. XXXI to XXXV, and they cover eight years, 1639 to 1647—important years in English history, for he left his native land in its normal condition and found it on his return in a state of civil war between Cromwell and Charles I. In Relation XXXI he makes a "Petty Progresse through some part of England and Wales." In Relation XXXII he travels over Holland, and from Amsterdam he continues his journey in Relation XXXIII to Danzig, *viâ* the Zuider Zee and round Denmark, with excursions from Danzig to Thorn and to Königsberg by the Frisches Haff. In Relation XXXIV he makes a very long journey from Danzig to Lübeck, and overland to Hamburg, and thence round the North Cape to

Archangel, returning *viâ* Heligoland to Bremen, again overland to Hamburg and Lübeck, and back by sea to Danzig. In Relation XXXV he travels from Danzig to Thorn and Warsaw and back, and then he goes by sea through the Sound to the Skaw (Skagen), thence to the East Coast of England and round the coast (with a short stay in London) to Plymouth, and finally to Falmouth, finding a vast change in his native country.

This volume thus differs from all those preceding it in being entirely concerned with Northern Europe, and at a most interesting period—the days of Christian IV of Denmark, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, Vladislaus IV of Poland, the Great Elector of Prussia, Mikhail Romanoff of Russia and the course of the Thirty Years' War, to say nothing of the Civil War in England. It affords a curious insight into the life of private citizens of many countries in a time of great historical stress, and shows how little individual life was affected by the continuous war then being carried on.

The above outline of the contents of the journeys gives an indication of their great interest, which is enhanced by Mundy's methods of remarking on everything he saw or read. There is his now familiar habit of observing the people and the places he visited, their ways and their history, and the animals that were strange to him. There is also once again his accuracy of ear and his attempt to learn a strange language, this time that of the Samoyeds of Archangel. He proves himself also a navigator of skill and high knowledge and a diligent student of the music, astronomy and mathematics of his time. In his Appendices to his text in this volume he touches on such very different subjects as astrology, astronomy, mathematics, animal physiology and bell-ringing.

As always, he is the ideal traveller—courageous, good-tempered and kindly, for there is not a harsh expression about anyone in the whole volume and never any grumbling. Of himself he seldom writes at all, except to illustrate the life of those amongst whom he found his lot cast, and wherever he goes he is on the look out to learn. Again and again he

shows the astuteness of his judgment of affairs and things, being always slow to believe "folk tales": compare his views on the Holy Thorn at Glastonbury (p. 5), the Labyrinth at Woodstock (p. 28), the mandrake (p. 46), Clawgeese (the Bernicle goose, p. 51), the origin of amber (pp. 107–8), the Malström myth (p. 154), the Monster on the gate of Warsaw (p. 199) and other wonders.

Travel seems to be almost an obsession with Mundy. He felt he had to move about, and he took an intense interest in all he saw, whether in his own or in any foreign land.. He starts on the "Petty Progresse" recorded in Relation XXXI on the 19th June 1639 (p. 1). From "Penrin in Cornewall" he makes for Bristol, going to Stratton, where he notices the now defunct garlic industry, and then passing into Devonshire to "Biddifford," where he remarks on the great bridge. Then at "Barnestable" he tells us of the curious "Toune Stone"; at Tiverton of the great destructive fires there and of a heavy fall of snow in the summer on Exmoor, not otherwise recorded. Passing by Taunton and Bridgewater, he has much to say of "Glacenbury" and its great kitchen, and is cautious as to the tales of the Holy Thorn and its flowering on Christmas Day. He is very interesting about Bath and Wells, rather shocked at the mixed bathing then prevailing at the former and full of wonder at the "excellent diall" at the latter place (p. 6). At Bath he is struck by the "pretty passionate Monumentt" to Jane Lady Waller whom he calls "the Lady Mary Walles" (p. 8).

Of Bristol which he styles "even a little London" (pp. 8–11), he has a long account, being greatly taken with its drainage system and consequent cleanliness. Among other things he notices "the Many Cole pitts, although None of the proffitablest" at Kingswood. On the 16th July he arrives at Gloucester, where he admires the Cathedral, the tombs of "Robert Courtoise, Brother to William Ruffus," and of Edward II, and the Whispering Gallery (pp. 12–13). Finally he saw "the proceeding off a whole assizes" and records seven instances of burning in the hand under the privilege of Benefit of Clergy.

Then he goes into Wales to "Rosse and Abergayny." At the latter place he meets "one Rice Morgan," a harper, and tells in a rather plaintive story how he lost "allmost all my Mony" and had to "pawne My sword" at Langrwyne "to carry Mee backe to Gloster to Fetch More to redeeme my sword againe" (pp. 14–15). On the road he finds himself at Monmouth and in the Forest of Dean. After duly redeeming his sword, he returns to Wales and describes the "Craig Vaor at St. Michaells Mountt" and reaches "Brecknocke," where he gives a valuable account of the hill called "Manucdenny" (p. 17). After that he goes to Hereford, where he has a quaint story of the "quire" in the presence of the Judges of Assize (p. 19); but what chiefly occupies his attention in this neighbourhood is "The Wonder," as the famous landslip of 1575 on Marcle Hill near Kynaston Green was long called (pp. 19–20). Finally he comes back once again to Gloucester.

On the 1st August 1639 he leaves Gloucester and arrives at Tewkesbury, where the now lost trade in mustard, mentioned by Shakespeare, attracts his attention, though he does not think much of that form of the condiment: "a Farthing worth off the ordinary sort will give better content in my opinion" (p. 22). Next day he is at Worcester, where the well-paved streets "high into the Middle with kennells [gutters] on both sides" and the "paire off Organs" in the Cathedral please him very much (pp. 22–23). Then back he goes once more to Gloucester (*viâ* the Malvern Hills), and describes the bore in the Severn (pp. 24–25).

On the 7th August he leaves Gloucester for the fourth time and reaches Oxford *viâ* the Cotswolds and Burford. With the University and its buildings he is much impressed, giving valuable notices of the Chapels of Magdalen, St John's and Christchurch, especially of the windows (pp. 26–27). Thence he reaches London by the old road along the Thames on the 16th August (p. 29).

On the 10th September he leaves again for "Sturbridge Faire" near Cambridge. Passing by Theobalds, Enfield Chase and Hatfield (p. 30), he stops at St Albans, where he

makes interesting notes on St Alban, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester and Sir John Mandeville. He tries unsuccessfully to get into the palace built by James I at Royston and reaches Cambridge on the 11th September, where "Thatt evening I lay in Trinity Collidge" (p. 32). Next day he goes "downe the River Grauntt in a tilted boate" to "Sturbridge Faire," of which he gives a valuable description. Cambridge he finds "on the outtside hath Nothing Neare the Faire prospecte thatt Oxfford hath," but he has useful descriptions of the Chapels of King's College and Peterhouse (p. 33). On the 13th September he leaves Cambridge, passing by Ware, with a note on the great bed there, and reaches London next day.

On the 26th he starts for Rochester "towards the Downes to see the greatt Fleete then riding there." He goes on to Chatham and "Jillingame, beffore which rode the great *Royall Sovereigne*" (p. 35), as regards which he is enthusiastic, and incidentally he makes a remark that helps to fix the date of Payne's engraving of her. He finds Chatham very full because of men and ships impressed for the Fleet off the Downs. He passes through Canterbury on his way and remarks on the wonders of the Cathedral (p. 37), and on the 27th September reaches Deal, where he finds the great fleets of the English, Dutch and Spanish. Of them he gives a very valuable and accurate account and forcibly depicts the way in which battle preparations were carried on in his time (pp. 38–40)—an almost incredible proceeding to those who live in the present day. He goes on board "the Spanish Admirall, called *Santiago*" (p. 38) and also on "the *Santa Tereza*, galleon of Portugall," the "Fairest and biggest shippe off them all" (p. 38). He was also "aboard the English Admirall, Sir Jhon [*sic*] Pennington, in the *Unicorne*, and From thence aboard the *Amelie*, Admiral off Holland" (p. 39). It is clear to him that the Dutch are the better men and he is unhappy (and with reason) as to the position of the English. However, on the 28th he left Deal and lodged at "Sandwych," and from there made his way to Maidstone with which he was very pleased, mentioning the trade in linen thread founded by the Walloons from Belgium. Thence

he reaches London on 1st October 1639 and finds the City full of excitement.

On the 14th he starts again for Deal "Uppon the rumour off the Fightt to bee beegun beetweene the Hollanders and the Spaniard" (p. 41). But he is too late. The Battle of the Downs had been fought and he sees but the remains of the Spanish Fleet and the misery of the survivors on shore. However, he gives quite a wonderful account of "The Manner how the fightt beegan: by Relation" (p. 42) and then he returns to London.

The rest of Relation XXXI is taken up partly with accounts of "Matters off Note which I saw att London since now my last comming uppe" (p. 44), and they are indeed of interest, including Whitehall, "Yorckhouse" and "the New Exchaunge" (pp. 44, 45). Then, after the fashion of his day, Mundy winds up the "Petty Progresse" with a statement of "7 things wherein England may bee said to excell" (pp. 47–49).

In Relation XXXII our author records his visit to Holland in 1640. Starting on the journey on March 16th from London, he meant to go "on a smalle Catche" to Rotterdam, but eventually he made an unfortunate voyage in a larger ship, "the *Contentt*." At Gravesend they waited for the first Earl of Craven, afterwards so much connected with the East India Company (see Foster, *East India House*, p. 22). The Earl failed to arrive and the delay thus caused brought disaster on the passengers and crew. The weather was bad, cold and snowy (p. 54), but Mundy nevertheless took the opportunity to see "Quinburrough" and has a long description of the Castle, and also a notice of the trade in copperas there (pp. 55–57), which lasted from 1579 to 1866. He hears of a mishap to James Ley, third "Earle of Malbrow," at the hands of the Dunkirk pirates, then powerful, and the news puts fear of them into his ship's crew.

Then we have a long account told with much feeling (pp. 58–60), of a disastrous and dangerous passage commencing on the 28th March, until "wee had a Pilate thatt brought us into the Brill, one off the Cautionary townes delivered unto

Queene Elizabeth" (p. 60) for her aid to the Dutch in 1585. It had, however, been handed back by James I in 1616. This voyage over the North Sea is worth reading to show the sort of thing that happened in those days to mariners in bad weather. It lasted from 28th March to 7th April. Next day Mundy left for Rotterdam, and went on the daily boat to "the Haghe" (p. 62), a journey he describes in an instructive manner. He has not much to say of "Delphe" or "the Haghe or Gravenhaage" and returns to Rotterdam to meet his ship which had "undergon 2 hazards More in her way" (p. 64). On the 13th April he goes by canal boat to Amsterdam and has some interesting remarks on "turffe," *i.e.* peat squares, for burning on the domestic hearth (p. 64). Before giving us a long disquisition on Amsterdam, he makes excursions to "Harleim, Muiden and Wesop [Weesp]" (p. 65). At Haarlem he notices "certaine Sandhills called dounes, where breed store of Cunnies" for the Amsterdam market. At Muiden he finds "a very delightsome seat, said to bee the habitation off the Earles of Holland" and at Weesp he describes the Water supply of Amsterdam, as to which he has some instructive information. He then goes into a long account of Amsterdam and its people (pp. 66–78) for whose trade in the face of great natural difficulties, he has evidently much respect and admiration. He is greatly interested, too, in the question of water-carriage from town to town, and in the reason why, in the conditions, the town should be healthy and inhabitable. "The incredible prices For tulip rootes" (p. 75) strike him, as the craze was then at its height; and so do various "Curiosities" among which is "A greatt Tonne" like the famous Heidelberg Tun. Then, with a remark on, and an illustration of the "Brabantts Huke"—one of the most curious among female fashions—and a valuable note on contemporary Dutch currency (p. 79), he concludes his account of Holland.

Relation XXXIII takes us from Amsterdam through the Zuider Zee round Denmark to Danzig and on to Königsberg and Thorn. Before following Mundy on this journey, it is necessary to explain the political situation he found in the

countries he visited. Scandinavia and the Baltic States, and indeed all Northern Europe, were in a state of transition owing to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which had by the date of his visit been in progress 24 years. It was not until 1648 that the frontiers of the various states concerned were adjusted by the Treaty of Westphalia, the Duchy of Prussia having been released from dependence on Poland in 1647. Mundy's time on the Continent from 1640 to 1647 was the period of the greatest advance of Sweden and Russia, both at the cost of Poland, and the great possessions of the King of Denmark, Christian IV, were being gradually taken from him; but he still held them in 1640 and later.

His line, the House of Oldenburg, were rulers of Denmark and Norway, which last included the S.W. coast of the Scandinavian Peninsula and the Norwegian provinces east of the mountains. Up till 1645 Christian IV also held the islands of Gothland, Dago and Oesel, which he then lost to Sweden. Part, too, of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and the country round Hamburg in the Bishoprics of Bremen and Werden were in his possession.

Sweden held the West coast of the Baltic from the Danish frontier northward on both sides the gulf of Bothnia and both sides of the Gulf of Finland, including Carelia, Ingermanland and Esthonia. Riga and the greater part of Livonia had been conquered from Poland in 1621–1625, and in 1630 Sweden also occupied the Island of Rügen. The Thirty Years' War made the Swedish Kings temporarily considerable potentates in Northern Germany, and the Peace of Westphalia confirmed to them West Prussia and the Bishoprics of Bremen and Werder. These facts have to be borne in mind when taking the references in the text into consideration.

On the 17th August 1640 Mundy left Amsterdam in the *Hope* and sailed up the Zuider Zee (p. 82). On the 26th he left "the Vlie" with a convoy for fear of the "Dunkerkers" (p. 83) and on the 29th the whole fleet was off "Juttland or Yuttland" (p. 84). On the 30th they rounded "Schagen," the northernmost point of Denmark, as far as "Lesow an Iland." On the 31st they saw the peaks of the Kullaberg in

Sweden, which Mundy calls "young Cole and old Cole [Kulla]" (p. 84) and anchored by "Elsenour," where he landed, and gives an interesting account of the Lutherans of his time, of the Church at Elsinore and of the "Fetherbeds at the inn" (p. 86). The ship was now in the Sound, but did not stay at "Copenhaven," and was off "the Iland of Burnholme" by the 3rd September 1640 (p. 88), Mundy merely remarking that there was "Now No daunger off Enemies, Nor Need off Convoyers." Next day they found themselves "thwart of Cassoobea, a province of the King of Poland, having passed by Pomerania, which was yett in sightt, aperteyning unto the king of Sweden (as I was told)." Here he is only partly right, as both Cassubia and Pomerania were then in Swedish hands. That same evening (4th September) they "were turning into the roade of Dantzig," and next morning Mundy landed with the skipper and others (p. 88).

Mundy has no remarks on his first visit to Danzig, though he was there nearly three weeks before starting for Königsberg on the 23rd September. That same night he makes acquaintance with "a crooh" or crewe, as travellers at that time called country inns in Northern Europe (p. 89), and next day he reaches Elbing on the Nogat, formerly the English "staple" or factory. On the 26th he goes down the Nogat to "the Bulwarke" or embankment on the Frisches Haff, and thence sails on the 27th to "Coninxberg," which he reaches "in 8 howers." Mundy finds Königsberg in the possession of Georg Wilhelm, Elector, or as he calls him Marquis, of Brandenburg. Of him Mundy says: "Hee is of greatt Titles, as Duke of Prussia, etts., and of large Dominions, allthough Now Most part taken From him by his Brother in law, the king of Sweden, who Married this Dukes Sister; and this Duke Married the Palsgraves sister, who Married the king of Englands sister, etts." (p. 90)—a statement that covers much of the European history of the time. He further adds a valuable account of Königsberg, of "The Hoffe" or Frisches Haff, and the wild fowl on it.

On the 29th September Mundy goes on to Wehlau and shrewdly remarks that the people could not eat a seventh of

the corn they grew, and also that the "Slotts [Schlösser] or Castles resembled some off our gentlemen's houses in England." Incidentally he describes the log-houses, which were new to him, and the "Boome" in the Pregel near Königsberg —a device which appears to have been little known in his day.

On the 7th October he sails back over the Haff towards Danzig, and reaching the Western end, he goes by a route (somewhat difficult to follow) as far as the Vistula (Weichsel) to the point where it divides itself into two at the Danziger Haupt, which he calls "the Hafft" (p. 95), and thence down the great river to Danzig on the 9th October. On the way he remarks on the great Polish corn-lighters or "canes" (Ger. *Kahn*).

On the 24th October he starts by road "in a waggon towards Thorun" (p. 96), 95 miles distant, on the Vistula. The places he briefly describes on the way are Neuenburg, Graudenz and Kulmsee. The day after he started, the 25th October, he very nearly brought his earthly career to an end by not being properly protected from the severity of the weather, through inability to understand how great the cold of a Prussian winter can be. He gives a lively account (p. 98) of the sufferings of himself and others who travel at that season in open "Cullasses" (*calèches*). However, he reaches "Thorun" in safety, but is too much upset to tell us the date of his arrival. He has a short but useful description of Thorn, its great bridge, the number of "Scotts" in it, the Epiphany Fair and the Jews that attended it (pp. 99–100). He describes Thorn as on the Prussian Frontier: "note thatt over the River is properly termed Poland or Polonia" (p. 100). Prussia, however, was in his time held by the Elector of Brandenburg as a Polish fief. On the 7th January 1641 he returned to Danzig "in a Callais, which is a kind off an open Coache" and arrived there on the 19th (p. 101).

He was not long in Danzig, for on the 29th he started again for "Coninxberg," this time over the ice along the Frisches Haff, which he reached by a new route close by the sea. First he went to "Gantts Crooe" (p. 102), *i.e.* Gans Krug or the Goose Inn, near Danzig—a famous hostelry,

where Peter the Great and his consort afterwards lodged in 1716. Then he put up at the "Armell Crooe" or Sleeve Inn at Frauenburg on the Haff. He went nearly all the way on the ice on skates, which were as new to him in 1640 (p. 103) as they were to Pepys in 1662. While at Königsberg Mundy made the acquaintance of a great musician there, an Englishman named Walter Rowe, who "Among the rest of his Instruments hee had one Named a Barretone," a kind of bass viol. But he found "att present a sadde court" for the Elector had died and his heir Friedrich Wilhelm, afterwards the Great Elector of Prussia, was very ill.

On the 6th February 1641 Mundy goes back to Danzig overland as far as Frauenburg, where he crosses the Haff, to the Frische Nehrung, and thence travelling along the sea coast, he gets back to Danzig on the 9th (p. 106). He then winds up his account of this journey as usual by notices, some of them very valuable, of the country and its people. There are, *inter alia*, accounts of fishing in the ice on the Frisches Haff (p. 108) and of the amber trade, with a shrewd "opinion" that amber is really the gum of the "firretree" (p. 108). He also notices cairns or "heaps of Bushes" to mark the places where persons have met a violent death. He gives further a fine account of "Croohes, Crewes, these countre Innes" (p. 109), of a German "stove" (*Stube*) or heated room, and of the "Cackle Oven" or tiled stove that heats it (p. 110).

Three months later, on the 3rd May 1641, Mundy starts on his great journey from Danzig to Archangel and back, as told in his Relation XXXIV. He is now in the *Justice of Lubecke*, but bad weather prevents her from getting beyond Hela on the Putziger Nehrung, which he describes as being like "Quinsburrough" (p. 112). However, on the 6th May he reaches "the 2 Ilands of Borneholme." On the 9th he is off Rostock and Wismar and next day at Lübeck. In a few notes on that place he tells a little piece of interesting local history by remarking: "no other religion permitted in the Citty then the Lutherans" (p. 113).

With no delay at Lübeck he makes for Hamburg over-

land by "Old Sloe." Here he is much struck with the "nightingalls singuing...at all tymes of the Nightt" (p. 114), a song probably new to him as a Cornishman. On the 12th he reaches Hamburg, of which he gives a long description, with some notes on the clothing of the women (pp. 115–118). On the 17th June he sails for Russia in the *St John Evangelist*, a vessel which had been in the Spanish fleet and had escaped after running ashore in the Battle of the Downs (p. 118). Going down the River Elbe "as low as Stode, the old English Staple," which, however, is not on the Elbe itself, Mundy reaches Glückstadt, of which he has a long and valuable account (pp. 119–120)—valuable because so little has been put on record about this favourite residence of Christian IV. The Hamburgers were always at enmity with their powerful and unwelcome neighbour, and Mundy records a pretty little quarrel between them and the King in relation to a ship's anchor hung on the Church tower at Glückstadt. Mundy seems to have returned from Glückstadt to Hamburg, for on the 20th June "Wee sett saile from Altnoe," *i.e.* from Altona, a suburb of Hamburg, and that evening "saw a small Iland called Holy Land [Heligoland]" (p. 121).

The ship then rapidly travelled to the North, and by the 25th the nights were quite short. By the 2nd July there was no night at all, a circumstance which elicits a disquisition on the "Midnight Sun" from Mundy, in a manner that has drawn from Lieut.-Comdr. G. T. Temple, R.N., the author of the *Admiralty Pilots for Norway*, the remark that Mundy's observations "bear eloquent testimony to the painstaking thoroughness of his work," in spite of the very poor instruments at his command. On the 12th July the North Cape is sighted, and Mundy makes some valuable remarks on the surrounding land (p. 125). After some allusions to the trade in "Stockeffish," or dried cod (p. 127), he turns his attention to the "Fynnes and Lappes, Fishermen," who came in "a Yoholl [yawl]" from "Wardhouse [Vardö]" (p. 128).

On the 19th July the ship is "thwart off Sweattnose [Sviatoi Nos]." The next day they are off Lumbovsk, where they saw many seales and "greatt driffts off wood" from

up-country (p. 132), and that evening they are off Ponoi at the entrance of the White Sea, where they first meet with Russian *lodias* (p. 133), lighters and coasting boats. Next day with a strong fair wind, sailing along the White Sea, they see the "Catsnose or Blauhooke" at the entrance to the Gulf of Archangel and ride off "St. Nicholas Cloister," and on the 26th July Mundy comes "uppe the River Dwyna in an English boate" and is plagued with "Mosqueetos" and other flies. Mundy makes also an interesting contribution here to the old dispute about the name "White Sea" (p. 134). That evening he arrives at "St. Michael Arckangel."

After reaching Ponoi Mundy remarks: "From Wardhouse hither accompted Lapland and apertaines to the great duke of Moscovia" (p. 133). At the time of his visit to Archangel, Russia was under Mikhail Romanov, the first of the last line of Emperors. He therefore found himself, though he did not know it, looking at the people and things at a time of transition when much that he saw was new. It is therefore necessary to give a brief sketch of the conditions that brought about the Russian Empire as Mundy saw it.

The Great Russian monarchy of Mundy's day developed out of the Grand Duchy of Kiev, the most prominent ruler of which was St Vladimir (980–1015 A.D.), who was in course of time succeeded by the Grand Dukes of Russia, commencing with St Alexander Nevsky (1255–1263), ruling from Novgorod. These were followed by the Hospodars (Gospodar, Gosyudar), or Rulers of all Russia, from Ivan III, the Great (1462–1505), ruling from Moscow (Moscwa). They developed into the Tsars (Kaisar, Cæsar), the all-Russian Emperors (often erroneously, as Sir Herbert Maxwell points out in the *Creevy Papers*, II. 15 n., called "Emperors of All the Russias"), under Ivan IV, the Terrible (1543–1584). At the time of Mundy's visit (1641) the Ruler of Russia was the all-Russian Tsar, Mikhail Romanov (1612–1645), the first of that House, known to Western Europeans by the traditional and then familiar title of the Grand Duke of Muscovy or Muscovia. Finally the Tsars, who were scions of the House of Romanov, became Emperors (Imperator) of Russia, under Peter the

Great (1689–1725), ruling from Moscow and St Petersburg. They were generally known to Western Europeans as the Tsars (Czars) of Russia, and familiarly to their own people as the Gosyudars *par excellence*.

To get at the social atmosphere through which Peter Mundy viewed what he saw in Archangel and neighbourhood, it must be understood that the since familiar social and political situation of the people was then of recent origin. After the death of Ivan the Terrible, Russia was subjected to the rule of two usurpers, Boris Godunoff (1598–1605) and the False Dmitri (1605–1606), and then to six years of anarchy (1606–1612), until a young Russian *boyar* or noble, Mikhail Romanov, son of the Patriarch Philaret, became the all-Russian Tsar by election, *i.e.*, by the will of the people. The rule of Boris Godunoff, short as it was, had unwittingly had an enormous effect on the people of Russia. In order to keep himself in power, he successively did three great things: (1) to ingratiate the people he founded several towns, among them Archangel (Arkhangelsk); (2) to ingratiate the Church he converted the Metropolitan See of Moscow into the Patriarchate of all Russia by getting the Patriarch of Constantinople to consecrate Job, the Metropolitan, as Patriarch in return for gifts and benefits conferred, and he thus created the autonomous Church of Russia; (3) to ingratiate the lower nobility he abolished the liberty of movement of the peasants and thus turned a free people into the Russian Serfs. In 1641, when Peter Mundy visited Russia, Archangel was a new town; the Russian Church had a new constitution as a national institution; the old free people of Russia were becoming gradually accustomed to the new idea of serfdom; and the Tsar ruled by a new authority, *i.e.* by election and not by divine right. Richard Chancellor, the first Englishman in Russia, found no Archangel in 1553, but only Fort St Nicholas[1].

[1] I am indebted to Mrs Sonia E. Howe for the information on which these remarks are based. For details, see her works: *A Thousand Years of Russian History; The False Dmitri; Some Russian Heroes, Saints and Sinners*. I have also had the advantage of reading her unpublished MS. *Boris Godunoff: The Man for whom Queen Elizabeth* [*of England*] *said Prayers Daily*.

The feature of Archangel that struck Mundy most was the presence of the Samoyeds, whom he carefully describes and gives a short and valuable and, according to his wont, accurate, vocabulary of the Yuriak dialect they spoke (pp. 136–141). He also has useful things to say about the Russian religion of his time, Russian Churches, and Russian houses, and he describes the peculiar Russian "stove," which differs from the German variety in that it can be used as a sleeping place (pp. 142–144). He has, too, a good account of the clothing of the people he saw, and of the climate, currency and animal life (pp. 145–149). Finally, he tells us of "4 Sundry accidentts" by which he means "occurrences" and of many other things of interest that go to make up a good story of his visit, winding up with the tale of an intended return overland to Danzig, which did not take place (p. 153).

On the 2nd September 1641 he sets sail from Archangel in the "*Fortune off Hambro*" (p. 153), reaching the North Cape on the 22nd and passing Sorö Island on the Norwegian Coast next day, and the day after the "Maelstrome," in which myth he has, for his time, a remarkable disbelief. He has a splendid run down the coast in "very strong Northerly windes" and remarks on "a greatt and sodaine alteration off climate, the ayre beecomming warmer and warmer, allthough winter came on." On the 3rd October he sees Heligoland again, and describes it. In the foul ground near it "Our shippe sodaynely strooke to all our amazementt" (p. 157), but without damage.

As energetic as ever, on the 4th, Mundy lands at Glückstadt and goes over it, and next day he goes to Stade. On the 6th October he is at Bremervörde, the seat of "the Bishoppe off Breme," son of Christian IV and afterwards Frederik III, of whom he gives a quaint description (p. 158). On the 7th he goes to Bremen and has a useful account of it, alluding to the curious female costumes—the *huik* or horned head-dress and the *Hüfte-Wulst* or pad round the waist (p. 161). By the 13th he is back at "Hambro," where he finds Christian IV "enschaunst" in a military camp at Fuhlsbüttel, four miles away. On the 16th he is once more in Lübeck, of which he

gives some valuable details, again including costumes (p. 164). On the 25th he goes on board the "*Fortune off Lubeck*" once again for Danzig and tells some illuminating facts as to the method of dealing with fares on board ship. Finally, on the 1st November 1641 he lands "att the Munde and From thence to the Citty" of Danzig, after six busy months of absence.

In Relation XXXV, the last in the volume, Mundy is back in Danzig and commences his story with a long detailed account of that city. His opening remark requires a little elucidation. "The Citty of Dantzigk is in the Province of Pommerella, reckoned under the Crowne of Poland, reckoned allso in Prussia" (p. 167). Danzig was, however, a free Hanseatic town and Prussia was then a fief of Poland. As described by Zeiler in 1630 (*Itin. Germaniae nov.-antiquae*, pp. 529–30) Poland still consisted of Great Poland; Little Poland, capital Cracow; the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania; Samogitia; Masovia; Volhynia, Podolia; Black or Little Russia, chief town Leopolis (Lemberg); Podlassia (between Masovia and Lithuania), chief town Kmyssin; Livland (in Mundy's time in Swedish hands); and Prussia. Thus this kingdom stretched from the Sarmatian Mountains and Transylvania to the Principality of Teschen in Silesia, where the Vistula rises; thence through Silesia to the Oder and the Mark of Brandenburg; further, through Pomerania to the Baltic Sea, along that coast to the North through Samogitia, Courland and Livonia, almost to Finland, which belonged to the King of Sweden. Thence Poland extended into Russia nearly as far as Moscow to the Maeotic Marshes, across the river Borysthenes to the Black Sea, and from thence through Podolia, Moldavia and Wallachia, once more to Transylvania and the Zips. Its frontiers were therefore: to the West, Silesia, Brandenburg and Pomerania; to the North, the Baltic, and the Kingdom of Sweden; to the East, Russia, the Tartar Steppes and Moscovia, and to the South, Moldavia, Wallachia and Hungary[1].

Mundy became well acquainted with Danzig, for he went

[1] See Freeman, *Hist. Geog.* p. 213, etc.; see also Zeiler, *op. cit.* pp. 419–420.

to live there in 1641 and left it finally in 1647, and his account is valuable and accurate as well as detailed. He names suburbs, streets and buildings still existing and describes the lordly style of life of the richer citizens (p. 168). He mentions the sumptuary laws and many of the customs. He notices the defences against the danger of the hills so near the town, and also the district of Alt Schottland (p. 170), so called after the great number of Scots then resident there. He describes the Zeughaus or Arsenal and various punishments, including "breaking with a wheele" (p. 173), which was evidently more horrid to look at than to undergo—clearly invented to strike terror into the living. He must have been impressed by the appearance and position of the "sharpe Righter," the public hangman, for he has a long informing account of him (p. 175).

Mundy next gives a most interesting narrative of recreations and amusements and of the places for them (pp. 177–181)—Heiligenbrunn, Oliva, Zoppot and others. He is obviously impressed by the pleasures of the Junkerhof, where the mercantile classes, the Junkers as they styled themselves in their overweening pride, held high festival on occasion. Incidentally he mentions companies of English comedians in the service of "the prince Elector of Brandenburge" (p. 182) or of the King of Poland and notices the English origin of the German term *Pickelhäring* for a clown.

Turning to more serious matters, Mundy remarks on the trade of the place and has an illuminating note on life at the "English staple" (p. 183), incidentally noticing the religious tolerance that then distinguished the City.

He describes the sights: the Clock-Tower, the Great Mill, the Zuchthaus or House of Correction, which he calls the "Zeucht hause" by a natural error, and the "Singuing off poore schollers"—the peculiar German custom of the *Kurrende Jungen*. He mentions the great organist Paul Siefert and has a good account of the organs in "the Pharre Churche" and of their "bagpipes" (p. 186).

Mundy then turns his attention to the animal life of the place, repeating the old story of the hibernation of swallows,

with some caution however (p. 187), and he asks a question which it is even now not easy to answer—what would happen if one part of an animal's body were planted on to another "while the bloud is yett warme" (p. 193). He next makes "a Comparison between Prusse and India" (p. 188), which is instructive. After notices of the celebrated parasite-bearer, Lazarus Colloreto (p. 188), who happened to be in Danzig when Mundy was there, and of the town's method of keeping its citizens at home (p. 190), he launches into a description of the costumes of the inhabitants in a manner that is very entertaining (pp. 190–192).

Then on the 10th March 1643, under the new style of reckoning dates, sixteen months after he had returned to Danzig, he starts for Warsaw (pp. 194–199) by road, and here it has not been easy to follow him. Of the places he mentions specially on the way are the following: Gross-Lichtenau, of which he tells an interesting legend, noticing the excessive drunkenness then prevalent; Marienburg, where stood the great Schloss of the Teutonic knights, and Stuhm where they had an ancient castle. He also mentions the Knoblauchkrug or Garlic Inn at Garmsel near Graudenz, and Graudenz on the Vistula itself.

Next Mundy describes the great bridge of "Thorunia or Toorn" (Thorn), the action of the ice on the Vistula in spring, the "Canes" (*Kahn*) or lighters used on it, and the method of crossing it (pp. 196–198). He reaches "Breseschee," or Brzezie, a provincial capital, and then goes on to Kowal, where he buys "2 hinder quarters of veal of the Jewes" (p. 198), which reminds him of the story of "Jacobs wrestling with the Angell." He remarks also on the freedom of the Jews in Poland. At Gostynin he finds "the sepulchers of 2 Moscoveterissen Lords," Demetrius Shuisky and one of his brothers (p. 199). Finally he arrives at Warsaw where he sees "a Monster Fastned over the Castle gate," which, however, he does not believe in, but thinks to be cut out of a ray after a fashion practised in his day. He does not say when he arrived at Warsaw, but he left it on the 1st April, three weeks after his departure from Danzig.

Mundy has a long account of Warsaw (pp. 200–205), to understand which it is necessary to go a little into the Life of Poland in his time. Down to the seventeenth century it was generally of a simple and even primitive character. In some country districts the whole household still shared with their stock of cattle and fowls one large common room in a wooden house. The numerous German colonists, however, had a higher standard of life, and had introduced stone-built houses. Also there was a widespread desire for learning, and a knowledge of foreign tongues, German and Latin in particular, was very general. The daughters of both nobles and burghers were taught to read and write Polish and Latin, in the convents or at home, and as they grew up they learnt all household work, cooking, the care of cattle, spinning and sewing. Boys were trained to agriculture, or some handicraft or trade, or sought service with the Great. The nobles lived on their estates and there were no distinctions of rank amongst them.

Heavy drinking was the national failing, and though the habit of toasting had decreased amongst the travelled, Bishop Cromer[1] complains of the increasing excesses in eating and drinking and of the luxury in clothing. The country had become less subject to the consequences of warlike invasions, and the nobles gave greater care to the administration of their estates and lived with greater splendour than before: some of the more leisured seeking enjoyment in convivial gatherings. "At these, and at the banquets, which it is the custom to hold at festivals, the neighbours and nearest friends came together in one man's house, either alone or with their womenfolk." It was accounted "no dishonour for maidens to be present, and for young men in the presence of parents, relatives and other persons of mature age to converse with them, disport themselves at table, and dance together. In this manner many marriages were brought about," says the worthy Bishop. Unfortunately, these feasts

[1] Cromer: *Beschreibung des Königreichs Polen*, pp. 72, 85–87, 100 *et seq.*, and Neugebauer, *Description de la Pologne* in Blaeu's *Cosmographie Blaviane, Ve Livre.*

often ended in bloodshed, owing to quarrels, generally beginning amongst the servants and retainers under the influence of the heavy drinking in which they also took part. It was indeed a point of honour that the latter should have their share; and the more fruitful the estate, the greater was the excess of eating, drinking, and the number of guests.

At Warsaw Mundy describes the "Reichs tag or Parliament" (p. 200) and the pomp of the attendant nobles with their "heyducks" or bodyguard, and also the miserable condition of "the Common Sort of people." He gives an instructive account of the Court of Vladislaus IV and of his gardens, and winds up with a description of the Arsenal, of the historical personages present when he was there, and of Praga across the Vistula, including the "Coneetspoleskees," by which he means the Palace of Stanislas Koniecpolski, Castellan of Cracow (pp. 203–205).

On the 1st April 1643 he starts back for Danzig, this time along the Vistula in a *Kahn* or boat. He makes a muddle of his record of the journey, but it is still quite traceable. He goes *via* Plock to Thorn by the river and then on to Danzig by a road different from those on which he had previously travelled. He briefly but accurately notices the places *en route*, arriving on the 13th April 1643 after what he calls "An odde voyage," by which must be understood "a bad passage." This accounts for his mistaking his distances and mixing up places in his memory of it. It was freezing hard when he arrived at Danzig and "our hollandish guests wentt over the Ice on the Motlaw with shrittshooes" or skates (p. 208).

Mundy's next record is 13th April 1644 when Grev Waldemar, the son of Christian IV by his morganatic wife Christina Monk, passed through Danzig on his way to Moscow for the proposed marriage with the daughter of Mikhail Romanov, which came to nothing. Mundy's version of the story is told in a quaint amusing manner (p. 209). In the February of the following year Marie Louise daughter of the Duke of Nevers arrived at Danzig as the wife (by proxy) of Vladislaus IV of Poland, and had a tremendous reception, which is described at some length by our author (p. 210).

After this Mundy talks of various events and matters at Danzig. Among other things he gives a lengthy account of "Running att tilt after a Rustick Manner" at "Braunsberge" on the Frisches Haff (p. 213). He evidently read much at this period on astronomical matters, which interested him as a sailor, and he has much to say about Copernicus, Linemann, Eichstadt, Hovelke and other writers, including Franckenberg the astrologer, Giordano Bruno and Anaximander (pp. 216–218).

Finally, "Having spentt allmost 7 yeares tyme in this place and to and Fro," he feels he must leave it "by reason of the troubles in England [the Civil War] which were not yett stilled." On the 28th July 1647 he starts on "a voiag from Dantzigk to England" in "the shippe *Prophett Daniell* of Lubecke" (p. 219). Bad weather, however, prevents him from getting beyond Hela till the 5th August. Next day he reaches Bornholm, where the wind kept him two days more, and gives a short quaint description of the fishing craft there. On the 11th he reached "Coppenhaven" and notices the signs of the recent struggle (1643–1645) between the Danes and the Swedes. He does not stay there, but he fortunately gives a valuable note on "Uraniburgum the habitation of Ticho Brache on Huena" (p. 220), which he says is a little pretty Island [Hven], "called by some of us English, Scarlett Iland." On the 13th August he was through the Sound and "thwart of old Cole and new Col," the heights of the Kullaberg, where he states that strangers had to pay for their footing by a little feast to the crew. He reaches Skagen on the 16th, and notes and describes "A strange Manner of Fishing" for "Coddalau" (cod, p. 222).

He then crosses the North Sea, passing, among other ships, "a couple of herring busses" (p. 223), and "a Norman," *i.e.*, a Norwegian boat. On the 25th August 1647 he sails along the East coast of England southwards from "North Yarmouth" to Gravesend, whence he "tooke boate for London and landed att Billingsgate, I beeing then Just 50 years of age" (p. 224), a valuable biographical statement, for it gives the year of his birth as 1597.

He stays in London until the 5th October, but makes no comment on what he saw there, which is odd, considering the civil war conditions then obtaining, but nevertheless characteristic. He joins the *Morning Starre* in the Downs and "came into Catte Water" at Plymouth on the 17th October. There he finds much evidence of the Royalist investment of the Parliamentarians then occupying the place. On the 19th October 1647 he arrives in the harbour of Falmouth, "here making an end of a most tedious, troublesome, Crosse and Costly voyage, and amongst all the rest the worst of the Many in this booke."

Four of the Appendices attached to Mundy's MS. belong to this set of voyages, Nos. II to V. They contain matters that interested him and others of his time greatly, but it has not been considered worth while to print them in full. Appendix No. II purports to demonstrate by means of "an Instrument," of which an illustration is given, how a man going round the world to the Eastward gains a day of time, while going round to the Westward he loses a day. Of this, only the quaint parts have been reproduced. Appendix III is concerned with the "Paradox of the Earthes Motion," where again only what is quaintly expressed has been printed. Here Mundy quotes Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and Vincent Wing's *Harmonicum Coeleste* and his "Almanacke 1648." The fourth Appendix contains various observations on "the spottes in the moone," the "Proportion" of flies, worms, etc. Not much is here given of the first subject, but Mundy quotes Hovelke's *Selenographia* and has a very interesting reference to Franckenberg's *Oculus sidereus* which he calls *Occuli Sideralis*. He then gives a remarkable description of the eye of a fly under the microscope, showing his habitual accuracy of observation. He observes that "Flies breed yong under their bellies," thus describing the Gamasid mite. Also separately he talks about the itch-mite, which he calls "the worme in Mens hands." His last Appendix is on "the Ringing of Bells in Changes or Varying Numbers," on which some of his remarks are quaint indeed.

Nº 1
General Map
showing the extent of
MUNDY'S FOUR JOURNEYS
1639 to 1648
Magero North Cape
Skarsvaagnaring
Vardö
Sörö
Finmarken
Murman Coast
Sviatoi Nos
Kanin
Kumbovsk
Ponoi R.
Ponoi
White Sea
Lofoten Islands
Malström
Lapland
Arctic Circle
C. Kuiski (Catsnose)
Gulf of Archangel
Archangel
Nicholas
Khalmogori
Dvina
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Trondhjem
Stadland
Bergen
Vologda
Gulf of Finland
Narva
Stockholm
RUSSIA
Livonia
Riga
Moscowo
Kurland
Dvina
Lithuania
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Dogger Bank
DENMARK
Malmö
Falsterbo
Stevns Klint
Bornholm
Möen
Nexö
Rixhöft
Königsberg
Wehlau
Riügen
Danzig
Cassubia
PRUSSIA
Lübeck
Hamburg
Thorn
Vistula
Warsäwo
POLAND
Yarmouth
Amsterdam
London
NETHERLANDS
Falmouth
Dunkirk
Reference
1st Journey to Danzig
2nd " Danzig to Archangel
3rd " Archangel to Danzig
4th " Danzig to Falmouth
Statute Miles
100 50 0 100 200

98 46

RELATION XXXI

A PETTY PROGRESSE THROUGH SOME PART OF ENGLAND AND WALES

The 19th June Anno 1639[1]. All the Voyages, Journeies, etts., Mentioned in the 30 severall Relationes afforegoing were perfformed in the service and att the cost off others, my superiours, as my calling or trade off living: the Following voluntary, which I undertooke partly to Follow my habituall disposition off travelling, and partly (to Free my sellffe off some inconveniences I Found by living att home in the Country) to seeke some other residence.

Every particuler daies Journey is Nott here sett, only places and Matters Most Notable hapning in my way, directing my course First towards Bristoll.

The day abovesaid I departed from Penrin in Cornewall.

The Next day I came to Stratton, an Auntient towne off that County, Noted to have the best garlicke in all those parts[2].

A little beeyond this place I crost over the River off Tamar which divides Cornewall From Devonshire, having his head

[1] As in the previous volumes, the various ways in which Mundy enters his dates have been ignored and one system has been followed throughout.

[2] The garlic of Stratton is praised by Richard Carew in 1602: "Stratton Hundred...the Inhabitants...reape large benefit from their orchyards and gardens, but especially from their Garlick (the Countryman's Triacle), which they vent, not onely into Cornwall, but many other shires besides." *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. 1769, fol. 117.

Childrey, *Britannia Baconica*, pub. 1660, also remarks (pp. 23, 27): "The Country men in Cornwall are great eaters of Garlick for healths sake, whence they call it there, the Country mans Treacle....At Stratton in Cornwall grows the best Garlick in all the Countrey."

Cruttwell, writing in 1801 (*Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, II. 300), says: "Stratton has been long celebrated for its gardens, and especially for garlic."

Sir David Prain, Ex-Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, informed me that nothing has been traced regarding any garlic industry at Stratton. He was of opinion that the plant referred to by Mundy (and still abundant, so Mr C. D. Kingdon informs me, in the neighbourhood of Stratton) is the species of garlic known as *Allium ursinum*, formerly much used in the West of England as a tonic sauce.

butt Few Miles From the North Sea, wanting butt little to Make Cornewall an Iland.

To my remembraunce all the Rivers here (which were very Many) ran southward in to the Channell thatt divideth England From Fraunce[1].

Biddifford: a large stone bridge[2].

I passed through Biddifford, where to comes a Creeke, over which is a stone bridge off aboutt 25 arches[3], the largest I have yett seene in England; there bee smalle vessells beelonguing to this place.

Barnestable.

I lay att Barnestable, a bigge towne and Neatt, a sea port, a Creeke comming to the towne[4]; many vessells beelonguing to itt, For att a weekes daies Morning prayer there were above 30 perticulerly named and prayed for, absent in sundry voyages. I know not whither they did all appertaine to this place. There is a pretty exchaunge, a large stone beeffore itt Made uppe in the Manner off a tombe, 3 Foot high, And as by some lettres yett extant theron May bee gathered, itt was a Tombe stone indeed aboutt 200 yeares since, itt serving Now as I was told to pay or tender Mony theron uppon bills, bonds, etts.; allsoe to seale writings, Covenantts, etts.; called

[1] Mundy's recollection is not quite accurate. The Tamar and its tributaries, with the Lynher, Fowey, Fal, and numerous small streams, flow into the English Channel, but the Camel and its tributaries, with some half dozen small rivers, empty themselves into the Bristol Channel.

[2] This and the following paragraph headings appear as marginal notes in the original MS.

[3] Bideford Bridge, erected *c.* 1550, is thus described by Leland (ed. L. Toulmin Smith, I. 171–2): "The bridge at Bedeforde upon Turege [Torridge] is a very notable worke, and hath xxiiii arches of stone, and is fairly waullid on eche side...." See also Defoe, *Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, II. 12–13, 14; Maton, *Observations*, II. 58.

For a detailed history of the Bridge from 1685 to the end of the 19th cent. see *The Long Bridge of Bideford*, by Alexr. G. Duncan. The author informs me that during extensive repairs begun in 1915, strong oak posts were discovered in some of the piers, evidently used as supports when the Bridge was building. From a portion of one of these a chair has been made for the use of the Chairman of the Trustees of the Bridge.

[4] Barnstaple is situated on the Taw, a tidal river.

by the Name off Bastable stone[1]. In Fine, a handsome, Nett [clean] and well governed place and off much traffick.

Tiverton: Ex River.

Tiverton, twice burned by accidentt[2], a large towne; a Capacious Church[3], and therin was the greatest audience att one sermon thatt yett I ever saw to my remembrance. The River of Ex runneth by itt, who hath his head in Exmore, where I was told thatt within these 3 or 4 daies ther Fell soe much snow thatt itt lay 2 or 3 Foote deepe, soe thatt Many sheepe perished thereby: straunge att this tyme off the yeare[4].

Taunton.

A Fine towne with a very Faire 4 square tower or steeple with 4 very curious artifficial pinacles, the best I have yett seene[5].

[1] The "pretty exchaunge" was the "Walking Place," erected for the transaction of business on the principal quay, in 1609 and enclosed and roofed in 1639. At the latter date the "Toune Stone" was set up like a writing table and over this bargains were made between sellers and buyers and the place was then dubbed the "Merchants Exchange." The stone still bears the names of three 17th century merchants cut on the rim and it is probable that Mundy mistook these names for an inscription on a tombstone. I am indebted to Mr Alexander G. Duncan for the above information.

[2] These destructive fires occurred on the 3rd April 1598 and 5th August 1612. They are quaintly described in two tracts, reprinted in the Appendix to Harding's *History of Tiverton*, entitled (1) "The true lamentable discourse of the burning of Teverton in Devon: shire," &c.; (2) "Wofull Newes From the West parts of England, Being the lamentable Burning of the Town of Tiverton in Devonshire," &c. In the first fire 600 houses were burnt; in the second, the damage was estimated at £35,000; and a third fire occurred in 1731 occasioning a loss of £150,000. See Cruttwell, *Tour through Great Britain*, II. 305–6.

[3] St Peter's Church, built in the early part of the 15th century and restored and added to by John Greenway in 1577.

[4] This remark is interesting, for, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there are no records existing of the weather in the S.W. of England in 1639.

[5] Mundy is alluding to the tower, 150 ft. high, of the Parish Church of St Mary Magdalene, one of the largest Perpendicular churches in England. The writer of *Lansdowne MS.* 213 speaks (fol. 377) of Taunton as "grac'd with a fayre Church and a stately high steeple, with a sweet and tunable Ring of bells." See also Maton, *Observations on the Western Counties of England*, II. 41; Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle*, p. 204.

Bridgewater.

A greatt towne with a very Faire high stone spire[1].

Glacenbury.

Here were the Ruines off a Famous Abby, Most part downe, the rest dayly decaying. It appears to have bin a Magnifficentt Fabricke. Among the Ruines, as they Now digge For stones For other buildings, there are many tombes, it seemes thatt beeing the Floore off the Church. Among the rest one side off a tombe or Coffin appeared, either off toutchstone[2] or excellent shining polished blacke Marble with ancient Charactars round aboutt; a Ritch peece, though plaine[3]. The kitchin aperteyning to this abby is yett entire, off hewen stone, No timber att all, beeing off a stately Forme, 8 square, drawing Narrow towards the toppe, off a great heightt, making a very Faire shew, built as it is said, made on this occasion. The king of England sent word to the Ritch Abbott thatt hee purposed to come and sett Fire off his kitchin, intymating thereby thatt when hee came hee Meantt to have good cheare which would require greatt Fires. The Abbott, allthough hee knew the kings Meaning, Yett Merrily seeming to prevent the kings intentt (allthough hee understood itt No otherwise then the very words do give), Caused the said kitchen to bee built all off hewen stone withoutt any timber worke in it as afforementioned. Itt now serves to keepe turffe etts. [and other] Fewell off a gentlemans dwelling in some off the houses aperteyning to the said Abby, beeing repayred and kept uppe[4].

[1] The tall slender spire of the Parish Church of St Mary the Virgin, 114 ft. high, springing from a red sandstone tower, 60 ft. high. See Jarman, *History of Bridgwater*, p. 201.

[2] Touchstone, a black or dark-coloured variety of jasper (Basanite). The term was also applied to black marble and similar stones resembling the true touchstone.

[3] Mundy may be referring to the reputed tomb of St Joseph of Arimathæa. Ray, the antiquary, states that he saw the tomb as late as 1662 in the Lady Chapel, but the statement is discredited. See Holmes, *Wells and Glastonbury*, pp. 217, 218, 246.

[4] Mundy is repeating one of the popular legends of his day regarding the erection of the Abbey Kitchen. For a variation of his story see Cruttwell, *Tour through Great Britain*, II. 349–350. The tradition is pre-

The holy Thorne.

About [blank] Miles From this place is a thorne tree off a straunge property, thatt contrary to all other, itt Flowrisheth aboutt Middewinter by some straunge operation in Nature. This I beeleive, itt beeing affirmed by Many thereaboutts, off whome I enquired. Butt that, as some say, it should have No appearance off anything att all on Christmas Eave and thatt on Christmas day in the Morning itt shallbee Full off leaves and blossomes requires to bee prooved. For then itt were an aparentt Miracle and deserved More admiration and respect then now it hath, standing Neglected by the highe waies side, Now ready to Fall downe For age. There are by report others off the same quality aboutt the towne, beeing setters off the same tree. Itt is by the Country people termed the Holy Thorne[1].

served by Grose (*Antiquities*, v. 34), but the building is older than the time of Henry VIII, to whom the story is usually attached. It was begun by Abbot Fromond (1303–1322) and completed by his successor, John de Breynton (1334–1342). For descriptions of the Kitchen see Warner, *History of the Abbey of Glaston*, p. xlv; Phelps, *Hist. and Antiquities of Somersetshire*, I. 549; Holmes, *Wells and Glastonbury*, p. 224. The writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213 remarks of the building (fol. 377): "The Abbots Mansion, his large and spacious Cellers all archt, his care[ful]ly moddell'd round, Freestone, large and high kitchen, built in that manner by the Abbott to prevent his Princes threat, doe all still most plainly represent and shew the splendour and magnificent greatnesse of this place and what bounteous Hospitalitie itt afforded."

Eighty years later the Kitchen is thus described: "It is all built of Stone, and hath not so much as a Peg of Wood about it, for it's better Security from Fire. The Outside...is a four Square, and the Inside of it is drawn into an eight Square Figure....It is at present made use of for a Barn" (*Hist. and Antiquities of Glastonbury*, p. 79). See also Fiennes, p. 204.

[1] The Holy Thorn grew on the South side of Weary-all Hill, later known as Werrall Park. It had two trunks, one of which was cut down in the reign of Elizabeth and the other, which Mundy saw, during the Great Rebellion. The Holy Thorn is the *Crataegus oxyacantha* which blossoms in December and also in the spring. See Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. c–ci; Hearne, Preface, pp. 1–2 and 109–111; Cruttwell, II. 354; Fiennes, p. 204; Collinson, II. 265. As regards the "setters" from the same tree, the writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213 remarks (fol. 377): "I found a young Bud and offspring of itt planted in a Taverne Garden in the Towne." See also Fuller, *Church Hist of Britain*, p. 8.

Glacenbury torr.

A very high round picked [peaked] hill with a tower on the topp off itt, seene very Farre offe[1].

Welles: Bath and Wells, allthough two cities 10 Miles asunder, yett accompted but one.

Welles, allthough a little Citty, yett thus gives the terme, The Citty off Bathe and Wells, the Bishoppe living here, allthough Bath hath the preheminence. This hath a very Faire Cathedrall Church and an excellent diall within itt, shewing Not only the whole howers, halffe and quarters, butt allsoe every Minutt off the hower, The age off the Moone allsoe, demonstrating her proportion as shee increases and decreases by a sphericall Figure[2]. Here is an excellent confformity in two rowes off buildings serving For dwelling houses to the Churchmen thatt sitt in the quire[3].

[1] Glastonbury Tor, 500 ft. high, surmounted by the tower of St Michael, all that remains of a chapel and monastery dating from Norman times. The tower was rebuilt early in the 14th century. See Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–3; Collinson, II. 264–5.

For the greater part of the notes relating to Glastonbury, Wells and Bath I am indebted to Mr H. E. and Miss Balch.

[2] Mundy is describing the so-called Glaston Abbey clock, the work of Peter Lightfoot, an early example of a clock striking the hours automatically with a count wheel. It is said to have been presented to Glastonbury Abbey by Adam de Sodbury (1322–1335) and to have been removed to Wells at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, but it was undoubtedly at Wells long before that date, probably in the 14th century, and certainly in the early part of the 15th century when entries of expenditure for its repair and decoration appear in the Account Rolls. In 1835 the old works were replaced by a new train and the original movement is now to be seen at South Kensington Museum; but the ancient dial showing the phases of the moon and the solar motions, as Mundy saw it, is still *in situ*. See Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. l–li; Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches*, p. 28; Maton, *op. cit.*, II. 143; Cox, *English Church Fittings*, &c.; *Lansd. MS.* 213, p. 337.

[3] Mundy is alluding to the Vicars College, a secular foundation, erected in 1329–1363, known as the Vicars' Close. There were originally 42 houses, 21 on each side, each house being alike. See Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 58; Maton, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Compare the following quaint description of these buildings by the writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213, fols. 337–8: "A stately long Vicars Colledge...not the least Benefactor to this Sacred place is the Monument of that Famous Bishop, Raphe of Shrewsbury in Alablaster 1363 who was the Founder and Builder of the new Colledge for the Vicars: their neat Chappell, faire Hall, Buttry and other Offices. These curious com-

Bathe: The hotte Bath.

From thence I came to Bathe, a pretty little citty and a Fine Markett house[1]. Butt off all Englands wonders the kings bathe there deserves the First place, Found and Founded by king Bladud, having continued soe Many ages in the same temper off heatt, itt beeing all most as Much as a Man can well suffer att the springs. I saw Men and weomen goe in togeather, and those thatt will May have guides. No incivility permitted under paine off punishmentt[2]. At thatt tyme was there the Earle off Northumberland[3], and washed, where one off his guides to make him sport, lay uppon the water on his backe and on each side with both his hands under his head, as if hee lay on the ground; the Manner pretty, and I thinck difficult[4]. This place much Frequented by gentry, especially att the spring and Fall off the leaffe.

pacted Buildings of 160 Paces in length are contriv'd and handsomely order'd into 2 large uniforme Files, every entrance guarded, with a pleasant little Court and Gate most delightfull to the Spectator. At the one end of this long streight Colledge they performe their Devotions: at the other end they receive their Sustenance, so as they that are neerest to the Chappell for their Soules food has furthest [to go] to the Hall for their Bodyes food, For both which this pious and zealous Bishop provided."

[1] The old Town-hall and Market-House was built in 1625 after a plan by Inigo Jones and was therefore a new building when Mundy saw it. It was taken down in 1777. See Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

[2] Two distinct legends ascribe the foundation of Bath to a British King, Bladud, in 863 B.C. In Mundy's time patients were treated in open public baths. The temperature of the "Kings Bath" which has been preserved intact, is 118° Fahr. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, I. 142, describes it as "very faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, and at the west end of the cathedral church." The Kings Bath is thus described in *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 339: "There met wee all kinde of Persons, of all Shapes and Formes, of all degrees of all Countryes, and of all Diseases, of both Sexes: for to see young and Old, rich and poore, blind and lame, diseas'd and sound, English and French, men and Women, Boyes and Girles, one with another, peepe up in their Caps and appeare so nakedly and fearefully in their uncouth naked Postures would a little astonish and putt one in mind of the Resurrection." See also Pepys' remarks on the mixed bathing in 1668 (*Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, p. 519).

[3] Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland (1602–1668), Lord High Admiral in 1638 and General of all the forces South of the Trent in 1639.

[4] Pepys (*Diary*, p. 520) paid a shilling "to make a boy dive in the Kings bath."

In the greatt Church is a pretty passionate Monumentt off the Lady Mary Walles [*sic*], wife to Sir [William] Wales, knight, hee yett alive[1].

Bristol.

The 27th off June [1639]. I came to the Citty off Bristoll. There is a straunge Narrow creeke commeth From the sea uppe to the Citty, sufficientt For smalle vessells, the greater shippes taking in their lading at Hungroade and Crocke and Pill, adjoyning together, and when they are redy to sett saile, the[y] ride outt in Kingroade, a Mile or two lower[2]. The Citty is very cleane and dry by reason they say every or Most off their houses have vaulted sincks which convey the water and Filth to other greater, and soe into the River. And For

[1] There seems little doubt that Mundy has confused the names, and that his "pretty passionate monument," *i.e.* a monument moving the beholder to compassion, is the one erected to Jane Lady Waller, 1st wife of Sir William Waller, Kt. who died in 1668. She died in May 1633 and was buried in the Bath Abbey Church. On her tomb in the South end of the Transept is the epitaph: "To the deare memory of the right vertuous and worthy lady, Jane Lady Waller, sole daughter and heir to Sir Richd. Reynell, wife to Sir Wm. Waller, Kt.

"Sole issue of a matchless paire,
Both of their state and vertues heyre;
In graces great, in stature small,
As full of spirit as void of gall;
Cheerfully brave, bounteously close,
Stranger to all vain-glorious showes;
Happy, and yet from envy free,
Learn'd without pride, witty yet wise—
Reader, this riddle read with mee,
Here the good Lady Waller lyes."

See Britton, *Hist. and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church*, p. 74; Warner, *Hist. of Bath*, p. 256.

The writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213 also noticed the tomb at a later date than Mundy (p. 340): "Monuments...Bath Abbey Church. Att the north end of the Ile is Sir William Wallers in Armour, and his pious Lady in Alablaster [*sic*], the Pillers thereof of blacke Touchstone."

[2] Kingroad is situated at the Western extremity of Portishead Point, and Pill or Crockern Pill (Mundy's "Crocke and Pill"), a pilot town on the Somersetshire side of the Avon, about 3 miles above it. Hungroad lies 4 miles down the river and 2 miles above Kingroad. Leland (*Itinerary*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, v. 91) remarks: "Hunge Rode about 3 miles lower in the haven then Brightstow [Bristol]....Aboute a myle lowere is Kyngs Rode." See Corry, *Hist. of Bristol*, 1. 247; *Index Nauticus*, p. 217. M. Jorevin (quoted by Evans, *Hist. of Bristol*, II. 307) refers to "the port of Conguerol in the village Depill."

the same reason they use sleads and nott Carts, beecause off shaking those hollow vaultts, allthough one horse in a cart shall doe More service then 2 with a slead[1].

The great church att Rattcliffe.

Here att Ratcliffe is a greatt Church Not quite Finished, built att the Charge off Mr Canon, a Citizen off this place and a greatt owner off shipping; among the rest, some off 1000 tonnes (as I remember), itt beeing written on his Monumentt[2].

The Exchaunge: The Bridge: The Ruinated Castle.

By the high Crosse[3] is the exchaunge where are many curious costly cast pillars off brasse, about 3 or 4 Foote high,

[1] The underground drainage and consequent cleanliness of Bristol were a source of wonder to 16th and 17th century travellers. The comments of three among them are worth repeating here.

"Bristow....There is no dunghill in all the cittie, nor any sinck that cometh from any howse, but all convaid under the ground: neither use they any cartes in their streets, but all sleades." William Smith, *Desc. of Eng.*, 1588, ed. Wheatley, p. 34.

"Bristow doth worthily deserve the name Brightstad: whose pleasantnesse is the more by reason that the river Avon scowres through the most of it, which together with the benefit of Sewe[r]s under all the streets, cleares the cittie of all noysome filth and uncleannesse." Speed, *Great Britaine*, 1631, p. 23.

"The City is very sweet and cleane, in respect of the quotidian Tydes that wash and cleanse her lower parts, and the vaults and Sewers that are under all or most of the Channells of her upper parts." *Lansd. MS.* 213 (1634), fol. 335 *a*.

Pepys, who visited Bristol in 1668, also remarks (*Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, p. 519): "No carts, it standing generally on vaults, only dog-carts."

For further 17th century allusions to the drainage of Bristol see Corry, *Hist. of Bristol*, I. 249; *A Topographical Desc. of Gloucestershire*, p. 9.

[2] The Norman Church of St Mary Redcliff was partly rebuilt in the 14th century, mainly by William Canynges (or Canynge) the elder, a merchant who was six times mayor of Bristol. The work of restoration was carried on by his grandson, William Canynge (*c.* 1399–1474/5). It is to the latter that Mundy alludes. There are two monuments to the second William Canynge in St Mary's Church, one in the robes of a magistrate and the other in clerical attire, for he became a priest seven years after the death of his wife Joanna in 1460. On the back of the former is a long inscription to his memory with "the names of his shiping and their burthens." For a description of the two effigies see *Transactions of the Bristol and Glouces. Archæol. Soc.*, IX. 69; XVIII. 260 (and Plate IV); XXVII. 55–62.

[3] The High Cross was erected in High Street in 1373 and later adorned with the statues of John, Henry III, Edward III, and Edward IV, bene-

broad att the Foote and toppe, sett off purpose For Men to leane on, pay and tell Mony, etts.[1] A pretty bridge with a little streete on itt like thatt att London: butt here is No opening[2]. Here hath bin a Faire and spatious castle, Now ruinated[3].

Shooting For a prize off plate.

They have here a pretty custom off exercising their small shotte about this tyme, who are to shoote att a round board called the buckler For a prize off plate. The best shotte carries the prize, butt outt of thatt the second, third and Fourth have somwhatt. Itt is understood thatt First every man putt in his proportionable share to Make upp the valuation off the said plate. Every Man is to make 3 shotte[4].

factors to the City of Bristol. In 1633 it was taken down, enlarged, and made higher, and the statues of four other sovereigns added. It is to these additions that the writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213 refers (fol. 335 *a*) in his remarks on "Bristow...with an ascent to the heart thereof, where stands a fayre Cross in the middest betweene both Bridges: lately and richly beautify'd, and not much inferiour to that in Coventry."

In 1736 the Cross was transferred to College Green, and in 1763 it was again taken down and subsequently given to Mr Henry Hoare, who removed it to Stourhead Park, Wilts. A model of the old High Cross now stands at the east angle of College Green. See Latimer, *Annals of Bristol*; Corry, *Hist. of Bristol*, II. 10.

[1] Some of the brass pillars which stood in the old Tolzey or Exchange, a shed extending along the north side of All Saints' Church, are now in front of the Exchange in Corn Street. They are dated 1550, 1594, 1624 and 1631. The custom of paying for purchases on these brass pillars is said to have given rise to the proverb, "Down on the nail." Macky, writing in 1714 (*Journey through England*, II. 133), says that the pillars were "erected by eminent Merchants for the Benefit of writing and dispatching their affairs on them, as at tables." See *Bristol Past and Present*, p. 261; Fiennes, p. 200.

[2] The stone bridge, which replaced one of wood, was built in 1247. It copies the London Bridge of *c.* 1140. Tall rows of houses stood on either side and there was a gateway in the centre with a chapel over it. It was taken down in 1761. See Wm. Smith, *Desc. of Eng.*, ed. Wheatley, p. 34; Rogers, *Travels*, p. 28; *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 335 *a*; *Bristol Past and Present*, pp. 91–92; Corry, *Hist. of Bristol*, I. 250.

[3] Bristol Castle, built by Robert Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I, was, when Mundy saw it, in a ruinous state. It was repaired in 1643 and demolished by Cromwell's orders in 1655–6. See Leland's description of the "Castle of Brightestow" (*Itinerary*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, V. 87). See also *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 336 *a*; Fiennes, p. 201.

[4] Such competitions as Mundy describes were usual in all parts of England in his day. They took the place of archery matches. See *Shakespeare's England*, p. 352.

There is a very Fine prospectt over the Citty From St. James[1].

In Conclusion, Bristoll is even a little London For Merchants, shipping, and greatt and well Furnished Marketts, etts., and I thinck second to it in the kingdom off England For those particulers and others.

2 pretty Customes.

Here is a generall Custom to serve beere in large silver beakers in all Innes and Tappehouses, beeing off such a size. Allsoe scarce a house thatt hath Nott a dogge to turne the spitt in a little wooden wheele[2].

A warme spring.

Aboutt 2 Mile downe the Creeke is a warme spring comming Forth under the hill att halffe sea Marck[3], accompted Midicinable and resorted unto. It is aboutt Milkewarme. Right over against it on the other side off the Creeke was the greatest spring off water came gushing Forth From under the rocks thatt yett I ever saw[4].

Allsoe Near the Citty are Many Cole pitts, allthough None of the proffitablest, beeing butt off a small veine[5].

I was allmost invited, through the Commodiousnesse, plenty, and pleasantnesse off the place to have taken uppe my habitation here; butt I had a Mind to see Farther First.

[1] The Church of the Priory of St James, founded in the 12th century, was made parochial in 1374, and the parishioners were bound by indenture to build the tower at their own expense. See *Bristol Guide* (1815), p. 30.

[2] I have found no other reference to the silver beakers mentioned by Mundy.

Turnspit dogs were evidently new to Mundy and he was probably accustomed to seeing lads performing this duty. See *Shakespeare's England*, p. 139.

[3] "Halffe sea Marck," *i.e.* a sea-mark or boundary.

[4] St Vincent's Spring, or the Hotwell, quarter of a mile West of Bristol, in the parish of Clifton. Its temperature is about 70° Fahr. For descriptions see *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 337 *a*; Rogers, *Travels*, p. 30; Childrey, p. 36; Fiennes, p. 201.

[5] Mundy is probably alluding to the Kingswood coalpits which are within half a mile of the city. Childrey, *Britannia Baconica*, p. 71, remarks: "The parts about Bristol afford great store of Coals that cake as New Castle Coal doth, but yet differ from it." See also Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle*, p. 199.

Gloucester: The Cathedrall church and steeple.

The 16th off July [1639]. I came to the Citty off Gloucester. It is a reasonable, handsome, quiett and cleanly place; no great trafficking For land nor Sea. A Faire Cathedrall Churche And the fairest, highest, largest Foursquare steeple thatt yett I have seene[1], with 4 suteable pinacles[2]. In the said Church, among the rest, are 3 things worth Notice. One is the tombe off Robert Courtoise, Brother to William Ruffus, his Image or statue Made off Irish oake laid theron, yett uncorrupt, Firme and solid, it beeing aboutt 540 yeares since hee died[3].

Next the tombe off Edward the 2d who was Miserably Murdered in Barckly Castle[4] (1327, september 21th)[5].

The 3d is the whispring place alofft, beeing 24 yeards through an arched somwhatt Narrow passage to goe From end to end. Butt it hath this property thatt if a Man doe butt whisper in att the one end itt is playnely hea[r]d att the other, the voice or Noise seeming to bee within a yard off

[1] The central tower of Gloucester Cathedral was begun in the time of Abbot Seabrooke (1450–1457) and completed by 1457. See Fosbroke, *Hist. of Gloucester*, pp. 118, 120, 122.

[2] By "suteable" Mundy means "to match," or "in conformity with," the tower.

[3] The armour of the effigy of Robert Duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the Conqueror, who died in Cardiff Castle in 1135, is of the period of Henry III, or about a hundred years after his death. The monument was destroyed *c.* 1642 by Parliamentary troops. The fragments were bought by Sir Humphrey Tracy who, after the Restoration, had the tomb repaired and the effigy put together and repainted. It now stands in the middle of the Presbytery and is one of the oldest specimens of an effigy in wood.

It is described in *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 334 *a*: "His [Robert Courthose's] Portraicture is of Irish Wood painted, which neither rotts, nor wormeeats. Hee lyeth crosse-Legg'd, with his Sword and Buckler, and soe as any man may with ease lift up this his wooden Statue; this is in the midst of the Chancell." See *Lansd. MS.* 874; *Trans. of the Bristol and Glouces. Arch. Soc.*, XXVII, 289–291; Macky, *Journey through England*, II. 122; *The Gloucester Guide* (1792), p. 48; *Gent. Mag. Library*, IV. 264, 511, 512; *Gloucestershire N. & Q.*, IV. 206, V. 187; Fiennes, p. 198.

[4] The alabaster effigy of Edward II, erected by Edward III, in the north choir aisle. "His body in Alablaster in his kingly Roabs, the Foundation Marble, and the workmanship over head curiously cut in Free stone." *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 334 *a*. See also *Trans. of the Bristol and Glouces. Arch. Soc.*, XXVII. 295–8.

[5] The words in brackets appear in the margin in the original.

you. This is somwhatt straunge, butt itt may [be] alleadged thatt the continuance off the Narrow concavity conveyes the sound immediately to the other end withoutt permitting dispertion.

A strange conclusion.

But this is straunger. The passage afforesaid consists off 7 squares, all rounding to a semicircle. The 4th or Middlemost is open as a large Church window. Yett, thatt if a third man should stand there in the Middway att the said window, hee shall Not hear whatt is said soe well as hee thatt stands att the Farther end. Itt requires farther triall[1].

A Faire quire and Cloister, or quadrangle.

Aloft in the Church are many Faire spacious places, where questionlesse in old tyme were altars. The pillars off the Church are perfitt round and aboutt 7 yards compasse; a compleatt quire and the Fairest cloyster that I have yett seene in England[2].

Here is a strong prison lying within the Ruines off an old

[1] The Whispering Gallery, a space of 75 feet by 3 feet in width behind the East window, constructed of Norman masonry, was built *c.* 1350. The opening referred to by Mundy is a doorway leading into the Abbot's Chapel at the West end of the 15th century Lady Chapel. I am indebted for this note as well as several of the preceding notes on Bristol and Gloucester, together with others on the latter City, to the kindness of Canon Bazeley.

Compare the description of the Whispering Gallery in *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 334 *a*: "But a thing most admirable is that strange and unparalell'd whispering Place of 24 yards circular passage, above the high Altar, next to the Lady Chappell, the relation whereof I leave to such as have beene (like us) both Spectators and Auditors of that miraculous worke and artificiall devise."

See also Childrey, *Britannia Baconica*, pp. 72–73; Macky, *Journey through England*, II. 122; *Gloucester Guide* (1792), p. 68; Fiennes, p. 198.

[2] Canon Bazeley writes: "The original Norman Church contained fifteen apsidal chapels on three floors. Five remain intact in the crypt but only four in the choir ambulatory and four in the choir triforium, though we may consider the Abbot's Chapel a restoration of the fifth."

The 14 piers of the nave, twelve of them Norman, measure 21 ft. 4 in. in circumference. By a "compleatt quire" Mundy seems to mean a choir with aisles continued round the altar.

The Cloisters were built in 1381–1412.

Castle[1], and in itt a paire off stockes thatt had aboutt 20 holes and would hold a good company[2].

St Nicholas high spire stands bentt[3].

Part off Severne runs by the Citty, the other braunch ¼ Mile Farther, Making an Iland off 3 or 4 Mile long[4].

Here I saw the proceeding off a whole assizes, the Mercifull Manner in Mittigation off our Most severe law by giving the booke, with the rest. There were 6 burned in the hand; none executed[5]. There sate Judge Jones and Trevers[6].

A JOURNEY FROM GLOSTER INTO WALES.

Rosse: Abergayny.

Beeing Now att Gloster, and Wales soe Neare, I had a desire to see some of thatt Country allsoe, Soe tooke my journey thitherwards. First I came to Rosse, then to Abergayny, where one Rice Morgan or Rice a gant, a Welsh harper[7], with his excellent playing on thatt Instrumentt and my own plying[8] Welsh Ale, I was att length soe Charmed thatt allmost all my Mony (which was Not Much), with divers things were gon outt off my pockett. And riding From thence, aboutt a Mile From the towne, My horse threw mee

[1] The present Gloucester Gaol stands on the site of the Castle, part of which was used for centuries as a prison.

[2] Canon Bazeley is of opinion that no remains of the stocks exist, and I have been unable to trace them in any work on the subject.

[3] The "bentt" spire stood until 1783, when it was considered unsafe and the upper part was removed. See *Records of Gloucester Cathedral*, III. 58–72.

[4] Mundy is speaking of the City as it was before the cutting of the Berkeley Ship Canal.

[5] Mundy is alluding to the privilege known as Benefit of Clergy, which permitted offenders who could read verse 1 of Psalm li (the "neck-verse") to be branded in the hand instead of hanged. It was abolished by statutes of 1827 and 1841. See Maitland, *Collected Papers*, II, 464–5.

[6] Sir Thomas Jones, d. 1692, knighted in 1671, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, 1683–1686. Sir Thomas Trevor, judge, 1586–1656, knighted in 1619, brother of Sir Sackvill Trevor. Both are noticed in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[7] Mr J. G. Wood, to whom I am indebted for many of the following notes on S. Wales, suggests that Mundy heard Rice called "y cantor," the singer, and miswrote the term as "a gant."

[8] The meaning of this passage appears to be that what with "tipping" Rice and "standing drinks all round," all his money went.

into a deepe dirty poole off water, over head and eares. Att length I gotte uppe againe, sore bruised against some stones thatt my side mett withall, and came to Langroyna[1], a village where I was faine to pawne My sword For a little Mony to carry Mee backe to Gloster to Fetch More to redeeme my sword againe.

Munmouth.

I came to Munmouth where stands the Ruines off a Castle in which Henry the Fifft was borne[2]. Near this place is the worst hill to bee travelled over thatt yett I ever wentt[3]. From thence I came to the towne off Deane, From whence the Forest takes his Name[4]; this part off the Country wonderfull Full off woodes; and soe came to Gloster, wher supplying my selffe with More coine, I returned the 2d tyme to persecute [prosecute] my Welsh expedition and to redeeme My sword as afforesaid, which lay in pawne.

Craig Vaor or St Michaells Mountt; a high hill and a very farre prospect.

Comming Near to Abergavenny or Abergayny, I ascended a very high hill by the towne called St Michaells Mountt, and in Welsh Craig Vaor [Craig Fawr, the Great Rock][5]. In

[1] Mr J. G. Wood tells me that this village is Langrwyne, 4 miles out, where the Brecon road crosses the river Grywne. *Lan* here is a syncopation of *glan*, *i.e.* bank, and so has a single *l*. Many mistakes arise from assuming that an initial *l* in Welsh is in all cases double. Ogilby's *Travellers' Guide* (1720), p. 143, calls the place Llangrenay.

[2] Only a small fragment of the Great Hall of the castle of Monmouth, where Henry V was born in 1388, now remains.

[3] Mundy must have travelled up the old road from Weybridge over the Cymin to Stanton. The modern road goes round 3 miles to avoid this. Neither road crossed the 954 foot level of Stanton Hill. That is the level of the Buckstone, which is 220 feet above either road. Information from Mr J. G. Wood.

[4] Mundy is alluding to Micheldean, but Mr J. G. Wood tells me that in his etymology he has reversed the order of things. Micheldean took its name from the Forest; which again took its name from the great basin-like hollow peculiar to that coal basin.

[5] The Skirrid (Scyrrid) Fawr, 1498 ft. high, called the Holy Mount on account of a curious fissure supposed to be caused by the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion. Near the top, in Mundy's day, stood a small chapel dedicated to St Michael, which was the resort of Catholic pilgrims on Michaelmas Eve.

Mr J. G. Wood's comment here is as follows: "The Skirrid Fawr certainly had acquired the names of St Michael's Mount and the Holy

my opinion there is nott a Farther ken[1] (in the kingdome off England) southards. On the very toppe stands a beacon and a Ruined Chappell, Before which I found a woman att her devotion on her knees (reliques off the old [Roman Catholic] Religion). Shee understood Nott a word off English, soe descended and came to the towne, which is accompted the Neatest in all the Principality off Wales.

From thence I wentt and released my sword, past Forward, and not able to Fetch Brecknocke thatt Night, lay shortt att a village called Skitchroke[2]. And then I made accomptt I came into Wales indeed, For Few off the common or poorer sort understand any English att all; the Country very Mountaynous, allthough little wast land (excepting the very toppes off the said hills); the rest fulle off woodes, Rivers, pasture and tillage. Here my Inne was None of the Richest, Nor my hostesse None off the yonguest, being 108 yeares off age, starke [utterly] blinde, halffe deaffe, with Never a word off English, the governement off the house in the ordring off a yong kinsman off hers. With my white bread I had oaten cakes which I did rather eat For a raritie, and savoured very well. Our drincking in little hooped cuppes like tubbes, as it is all hereabouts[3]; My bed off good Fresh straw, on which I slept as well as on Feathers.

Mount, by the middle of the 17th century. See the evidence of John Arnold and John Scudamore before the Anti-Popery Committees of the House of Commons (1678) as to religious observances on the hill.

"But I doubt if it had that name much earlier. Before that time the name of the parish was, and still is, Llanfihangel Crucorney; so St Michael had the dedication of the parish church. This was probably transferred to the chapel on the hill in the 'troublous times.' The Beacon on the top, mentioned by Mundy, is the hillock or tumulus (*crug*) which gives the first element in Crug-corneu. *Corneu* (plural of *corn*) means the horns or peaks separated by the great fissure (*ysgariaeth*), which gives the corrupted form Skirrid. See my paper on 'Crucorney and the Skirrids' in *Woolhope Transactions*, 1905, p. 192."

[1] "Ken" is here used in its now rare sense of "range of sight or vision." Here Mr J. G. Wood remarks: "Mundy did not go to Mynydd Caerau (the highest hill in Glamorgan) or he would have had a still 'farther ken southards.' I have thence seen over Exmoor."

[2] Scethrog, about five miles South of Brecknock.

[3] Mundy's "hooped cuppes" were apparently like the firkin (pronounced virkin) of Devon and Somerset, in common use among agricultural labourers up to the end of the 19th century.

Brecknocke.

Next Morning I came to Brecknocke, where I heard service in Welsh, having the bible and booke of common prayer printed in the said language, though the lettres bee such as wee use. On Sondaies their service is halffe English, halffe Welsh; The Epistle in English, the gospell in Welsh; the First lesson in English and the 2d in Welsh. Their sermons and psalmes are preached and sung sometymes in English, sometymes in Welsh.

Within 2 or 3 Miles off this place are many high hills, among which Manucdenny, spoken off in the Chronicles to have thatt straunge quallity thatt if any thing (excepting Metall or stones), as staves, hatts, cloakes, etts., bee throwne From the toppe off itt, they will nott Fall, butt will bee returned backe againe. I enquired therof here, butt could hear little off itt; only the Minister thatt said the Welsh service who spake good English, said thatt if the wind blow hard when any thing is thrown downe, it will bee carried one way or other: a likely matter[1].

[1] Pen y Fan, the highest point of the Brecknockshire Beacons, or Vans (formerly called Cader Arthur), 2910 ft. high. This hill was well known to early travellers.

The references here are difficult and Mr Wood has sent me a long and valuable note thereon. He writes: "Mundy here refers to the Chronicles as authority for the phenomenon he describes; but in fact he uses the very words of Speed (*Great Britaine*, Bk. II. p. 109) so closely that it seems certain that he had that book before him when he wrote. I copy the passage fully from the first edition (1611) as follows:

"'Mountains...of this shire, whereof one in the south and 3 miles from Breknock is of such a hight and operation as is uncredible; and were it not that I have witnes to affirme what I shall speake I should blush to let the report thereof passe from my penne.

"'In my perambulations in these parts, remaining in Breknock to observe the site of that towne, the Aldermen or chiefe seniors thereof regarding my paines with friendly and courteous entertainments; at my departure no less than eight of them that had been Bailiffes of the town came to visite me, where they reported upon their credit and trials that from the toppe of that hill in the Welch called Mounch Denny or Cadier Arthur they had oftentimes cast from them and downe the north east rocke their cloakes hattes and staves, which notwithstanding would never fall, but were with the air and winde still returned backe and blowne up; neither, said they, will anything descend from that cliffe being so cast, unless it be stone or some metalline substance; affirming the cause to bee the clouds which are sene to racke much lower than the top of that hill.'

"It will be observed that there is no suggestion in Speed, of any magnetic influence. Childrey, *Britannia Baconica*, p. 136, repeats Speed's remarks. See also Malkin, *Scenery...of S. Wales*, p. 196.

"The above passage, omitting entirely the mention of the visit of the Bailiffs, is, with a few slight variations in the order of some words and in spelling, copied verbatim in the *Cambrian Travellers Guide* (1813), col. 188; and is there attributed to Holinshed (*ob. circa* 1580). This is entirely incorrect. I have examined in the Lincoln's Inn Library with the assistance of the Librarian all the three editions (two in the 16th century, black letter, and the last of 1808) and particularly his chapter on the 'Marvels of Britain'; and we are satisfied that no such passage, nor any mention of the phenomenon, is to be found in Holinshed; and it would be inconsistent with Speed's statement that he had the account at first hand from the Bailiffs.

"As to the name Mounch Denny, I found that Speed in his map of 1610 wrote the name in two places on the same hill; but first as Mounch Denye, secondly as Monuch Denny. The *Cambrian Travellers Guide*, in the passage wrongly attributed to Holinshed, printed it as Monuch Denny; and (in col. 309 of the *Guide*) speaks of 'a view terminating by the peaks of Monuchdeny called the Breconshire Beacons,' and (col. 897) of 'the vale below Mount Denny at a spot called Ban-uwch Denni or Cadar Arthur,' and of (col. 895) 'the two peaks of Mount Denny or Cader Arthur one of the Brecon Beacons.'

"Giraldus does not mention either the name or any variant, or the story. H. P. Wyndham (1777), *Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales*, p. 194, says the highest point of the Beacons is called Monuchdenny; but as far as I know the name has quite gone out of use.

"I may say that a few years ago I spent a week at Brecon on a commission to take and report on evidence as to commonable rights on the Brecon hills; and particularly on Torglas Common, immediately on the south of and extending to the highest peak, now known as Y Fan Corn ddu, and during that week had before me many shepherds and other Welshmen who worked on the hills, and I never heard of, or saw on any plan or other paper, any name like Monuchdenny.

"I think the correct form is the second on Speed's map, though not in the text; that is Monuch Denny. All others are un-Welsh, I divide it as Mon-uch-denny. The only question is as to the third element; but I think it can be explained by analogy.

"The parish in Monmouthshire now known as Landenny (but wrongly spelt Llandenny) was formerly Mathenni; and took its name from the stream Dywenydd (see *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 208 and 376, Evans' edition). The names mean the Bank (*glan*) or area (*Ma*) of the Dywenydd or Denny.

"Immediately under the precipice of Y Fan Corn ddu is a small pool from which a stream runs into the Tarell and thence into the Usk. This, unlike all other streams on the hills, has no name on the maps.

"If this stream was the Dywenydd, the name Monuch-Denny, *i.e.* the point above the Denny, would derive, according to rule of Welsh orthography, from Dywenydd. There is also a Denny Island in the Severn.

"Speed's form 'Cadier Arthur,' followed by the *Cambrian Guide*, is quite incorrect. The correct one is 'Cadair,' as in Giraldus. A permissible variant is 'Cader,' though the meaning is slightly different. As to the meaning of 'Arthur' in that connection, see my paper on the Arthur Stone read in 1920 before the 'Woolhope Club.'"

Here itt seemes hath bin a very Faire large Castle, as apeare by the Ruines; part yett standing[1].

From Brecknocke or Breheenocke[2] I tooke my Journy towards Herefford. Aboutt 2 Miles in my way is a Faire lake[3], off which as yett I have seene None in any part of England where I have bin. I passed through a towne called Haies, with a Ruined castle[4].

Herefford.

I came to the Citty off Herefford. Itts is [*sic*] Neither soe greatt, handsome, Nor cleanly as either Bristoll or Glocester. There is a greatt Cathedrall Church and good voices, especially the boies (when they sang alltogether with the rest off the quire), very loud and steddy, butt single starcke Naught broken [and] Faintly weake, itt may bee daunted by the presence of the Judges Jones and Trevers, shreive, etts. Audience[5], the assizes off that shire Now kept here. In the Church are Many monumentts off bishoppes off old tyme.

The Wonder.

from Herefford I returned towards Glocester, butt having read off a peece of land thatt walked Forward For 3 daies

[1] The Castle Hotel occupies part of the site of the ancient Castle, built *c.* 1092, of which only the ruins of two square towers and the mound on which stood the keep (or Ely Tower) remain. The greater part of the Castle is generally supposed to have been pulled down after the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, but much remained in and after Mundy's time. See the plans and drawings in Theophilus Jones' *Hist. of Brecknock*, *c.* 1805, re-edited by Lord Glanusk, 1908, *seq.*

[2] Brycheiniog, of which Brecknock is the anglicised form.

[3] Llyn Safaddan or Brecknock Mere, now generally known as Langorse Lake, which Mr Wood informs me is the site of a prehistoric lake dwelling. See *Woolhopè Transactions*, 1870, p. 101; *Archaeolog. Cambr.* 1870 and 1872, and Munro's *Lake Dwellings*, pp. 464 and 490.

[4] Mr Wood writes here: "The pre-Norman Castle at the Hay, 21 miles from Hereford, was near the site of the present Church. The Norman Castle built by or under the direction of William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford (1066–1070), was one of the chain of border castles (all on the Welsh side of the Wye) from Chepstow to Wigmore so built or renewed. Hay Castle was destroyed by Henry II and was rebuilt by Henry III. (See note in Hoare's *Giraldus*.) It was damaged in the Welsh wars of Edward III."

[5] Mundy seems to mean that when singing together the volume of sound by the choir was loud and sustained, but that the solos were weak and utterly worthless (stark-naught), the lads being intimidated by the presence of the judges and sheriffs.

together, I had a Mind to see itt, and enquiring, I was told thatt Nott much outt off my way there was such a place, called by the Country people The Wonder, within ½ a Mile off Kenneston [Kynaston Green]. I came and saw itt. And it seemes to mee thatt thatt parcell off ground, beeing a boutt a Flight shotte in length, was once levell with the other Feilds or Face off the ground, and thatt beeing hollow underneath, in tyme suncke in and Fell down in the Manner as now itt lies. Thus a Man would have judged [it] to have come by the outward appearance, and perhaps No otherwise, Falling by degrees, Not all at once[1].

In my Journey From Gloster into Wales I went through part offe these shires Following, *viz.*

Outtwards	Homewards
Glocester	Brecknocke
Herefford	Radnor
Munmouth	Herefford and
Brecknocke	Glocester

Tewkesbury.

The first off August 1639. I sett outt From Glocester towards Worcester. Thatt Night I lay att Tewkesbury. The Mustard off this place (For want off other Matter) is much spoken off, Made upp in balles as bigge as henns egges[2], att

[1] Mundy is alluding to the famous landslip which occurred in 1575 on the Eastern slope of Marcle Hill, near Kynaston Green, 8 miles North of Ross. Kynaston itself is 4 miles West of Ross. The phenomenon caused widespread terror and was known as The Wonder. It is noticed by Camden, Fuller, Drayton and other writers of the day. For their exaggerated descriptions, and a full account of the occurrence, see H. W. Cooke, *History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, III. 33–35. Mr J. G. Wood remarks here: "Mundy's explanation is not correct. For an exact account of what really happened and the geological cause of it, see Murchison's *Silurian System*, 434, where he gives quotations from the authors above named and a much more marvellous account from Baker's *Chronicle*."

[2] Tewkesbury mustard was famous in Shakespeare's day and maintained its popularity until the 18th century when it was superseded by the so-called Durham mustard, said to have been introduced by a Mrs Clements of that City. In spite of such celebrity, no record has been discovered of any of its manufacturers nor of the site of their works, nor have I been able to ascertain the exact date of the discontinuance of the manufacture. In these circumstances, although entailing a long note, it

seems advisable to print some of the information that I have succeeded in collecting on the subject.

To make the Tewkesbury mustard balls, the seed of the *Brassica Nigra* was pounded in a mortar, sifted, moistened with an infusion of horse-radish, and again pounded. The resultant mixture was so pungent that it gave rise to the proverb noted below.

The following are the most important references to the condiment, given in their chronological order:

1597—His wit is as thick as Tewkesbury mustard. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Pt. 2, II. 4.

1605—Tewkesbury...famous for...excellent mustard. Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV. 148.

1634—We did not will to goe out of our way to be bit by the Nose at Tewkesberry. *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 334*a*.

1660—Tewkesbury hath a name for excellent mustard. Childrey, *Britannia Baconica*, p. 72.

1662—Gloucestershire....Mustard....The best in England (to take no larger compasse) is made at Tewkesberry....Proverbs: "He looks as if he had liv'd on Tewkesbury Mustard." It is spoken partly of such who always have a sad, severe and tetrick [gloomy] countenance...partly of such as are snappish, captious and prone to take exceptions, where they are not given, such as will *crispare nasum*, in derision of what they slight or neglect. Fuller, *Worthies of England* (1662), ed. 1811, I. 374, 377.

1670—Proverb as above. Ray, *Collection of...Proverbs*. The proverb is found as late as 1855 in Bohn's republication of Ray's collection.

1679—The Deponent...met with Blundell and...asked him what he had, and he replied Tewkesbury Mustard balls, a notable biting Sawce, and would furnish Westminster when he had enough of them. Deponent saith that by Tewkesbury Mustard-balls we are to understand Fire-balls. Titus Oates, *Narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy*, &c., p. 48.

1699—Tewkesbury...is famous for its Mustard-Balls. Ogilby, *Travellers' Guide*, p. 111.

1712—Similar remark. *Topog. Desc. of Glocestershire*, p. 12.

1720—Tewkesbury...the Town is famous for its excellent Chephalick [cephalic] Mustard Balls, which occasion'd the Proverb for a Sharp fellow: "He looks as if he lived on Tewkesbury Mustard." Owen, *Britannia Depicta*, p. 153.

1774—Tewkesbury....It has been long noted for mustard-balls made here, and sent into other parts. Postlethwayt, *Dict. of Trade and Commerce*, I. *s.v.* Glocestershire.

1779—Tewkesbury....The making of mustard-balls, as taken notice of in every book that treats of this place, has been so long discontinued as not to be within the remembrance of any person living. Rudder, *Hist. of Gloucestershire*, p. 738.

1787—Tewkesbury...famous for its mustard which is extremely hot and pungent, and therefore, by this property, supposed to communicate its qualities to persons fed with it. [Proverb, as above, quoted.] Grose, *Provincial Glossary*, *s.v.* Gloucestershire. See also 2nd ed. 1790.

1790—Tewkesbury was...remarkable for its mustard balls, which...occasioned this proverb &c. Dyde, *Hist. of Tewkesbury*, p. 63.

3d and 4d each, allthough a Farthing worth off the ordinary sort[1] will give better content in my opinion, this beeing in sight and tast Much like the old dried thicke scurffe thatt sticks by the sides off a Mustard pott, but you May see whatt opinion [favourable estimate] will doe. Att this place is a double sluce[2] (such as are betweene Venice and Padoa)[3] To Convey vessells outt off Severne upp into Avon.

Worcester.

The 2d ditto [*August* 1639]. I came to the Citty off Worcester. Itt is about the bignesse off Glocester: Faire and well paved streetes[4], high into the Middle with kennells[5] on both sides: Many Cloathiers: A Faire Cathedrall Church, especially From the Chauncell or quire inwards, where I was told are 1230 grey Marble pillars, beesides other; it is likely[6].

1830—Bennett, in his *History of Tewkesbury*, says (p. 200 and note) that in his day the Tewkesbury mustard manufacture might have been easily revived since abundance of mustard, like that cultivated in Durham, was then growing wild.

1841—Tewkesbury has been long noted for its mustard, but it is at present chiefly distinguished for its manufacture of stockings. *Pop. Encyc., s.v.* Tewkesbury.

1845—Tewkesbury. This town was once noted for its mustard. *Encyc. Metropolitana.*

See also *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, I. 45; *The Tewkesbury Yearly Register and Magazine*, 1849, p. 447.

[1] By the "ordinary sort" Mundy probably meant used in the "ordinary" way at that period, that is, consumed whole not crushed and made into balls.

[2] The great lock and weir on the Severn below its junction with the Avon.

[3] See vol. I. p. 98.

[4] Rogers, *Travels*, p. 110, and Macky, *Journey through England*, II. 124, both commend the well-paved streets of Worcester. The city was first paved by Bishop Giffard as early as 1281. See Noake's *Worcester in the Olden Times*, p. 97 footnote.

[5] Cannels, channels = gutters, surface drains. *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 385, remarks that in the Netherlands, the "kennells" of the streets were not in the "midst as with us," but on "each syde." See also Noake, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[6] Mr C. B. Shuttleworth tells me that he counted (on 17th January 1924) the marble pillars or shafts in the Choir, Eastern Transept and Lady Chapel of the Cathedral, but they only reached to 645. To this note Canon J. M. Wilson adds: "If the taller pillars (made of two or more shafts connected by marble collars or brass rings) are counted as two, and the East end shafts are included, I think the number given by Mundy is probably right, or nearly so."

The fairest paire off Organs (allthough Nott the biggest) thatt I have yett seene[1]. Beeffore the Altar lyeth the Monument off King John, And Prince Arthur, King Henry the 7th eldest sonne, lyeth in a pretty Chappell, allthough a plaine tombe[2].

By the Church stands a large high 8 square (as I take itt) tower, Now off No use, only For a Citty Monument[3]. Here is a waterhouse such as is att London, which serveth the Citty, Most houses having pipes; others have itt brought them in leather baggs on Horses[4].

[1] Mundy seems to be alluding to the double organs made by Thomas Dallem in 1613. They were damaged in 1634 and taken down in 1646. See Noake, *Worcester Cathedral*, pp. 477, 479; Green, *Hist. of Worcester*, I. 113, 114.

[2] Of the monument to King John in the choir, the earliest sepulchral effigy of an English king in England, the writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213 remarks (fol. 333): "In the middle of the Quire in blacke Marble the Monument of that great withstander of the Pope, king John (whoe lost his Life by the divelish practise of a Monke) with his Pourtraiture thereon, in his Princely Roabes." And of Prince Arthur's monument he writes (*loc. cit.*): "In a Chappell is the Monument of that noble Prince Arthur eldest Sonne to king Henry the 7th, of blacke Marble and Jet. Hee dyed at Ludlow Castle, Anno 1502." See also Speed, *Great Britaine*, p. 51.

[3] Edgar's Tower, formerly known as St Mary's Gate, an anciently fortified gatehouse, said to have been erected by Ethelred II, son of King Edgar. "[Worcester] strongly wall'd with 6 Gates, and many Towers, on one of which is plac'd the Statue of king Edgar, that great Monastery Founder, and Builder" (*Lansd. MS.* fol. 333). See also *Philosoph. Trans.*, No. 439, p. 136.

Mr C. B. Shuttleworth writes: "The original gateway was doubtless destroyed by Urso d'Abitot, who probably built one in stone in Norman style. Of Urso's Gateway, I think, a small fragment still remains in the *lower* portion of the part between the two interior rounded gateways. This fragment is constructed of the friable green sandstone so much used in Norman times. Urso's Gatehouse was pulled down and the present Gothic one was erected on the site. This is witnessed by the fact (not hitherto noticed or mentioned) that when the present Tower was built in red sandstone, sheets of lead were placed on the top of the old green sandstone, instead of mortar, as may be seen and tested at the present moment. This was done probably to aid in preserving this lower portion from further decay. The present Tower cannot be earlier than *c.* 1310."

[4] The monastery at Worcester was supplied with spring water from Henwick Hill by means of leaden pipes. The pipes were torn up and used for bullets during the Civil Wars. See Noake, *Worcester Cathedral*, pp. 111, 113, 321, 324.

By the "waterhouse such as is att London" Mundy is probably referring to the reservoir at Islington called the New River Head, constructed by Sir Hugh Myddelton in 1609–1613. Thames water had previously been "conveyed into men's houses by pipes of lead" by means

In conclusion, itt is a very delightsome Citty, the River Severne Running by itt, on whose bankes, as I came, were Many Anglers, generally very Nett and curious [smart and elegant] in their tackling, as their angling roodes of cane with Fine toppes, etts.

Malverne hilles.

The 3d off August [1639]. I returned towards Glocester by Malverne hills. I ascended uppe by the way thatt leades to Lidbury: a greatt prospecte round aboutt, allthough itt bee not the highest part off all off those hills.

Since my First comming to Glocester untill Now, in my riding from thear to Wales etts [and other] places, I went through divers parts off the Forest [of Dean], where are greatt store off good Fruit trees on the hedges in and by the high waies, as apples, peares, plummes, etts., allsoe greatt woodes off old oake trees, etts.

The Tide head in the River off Severne aboutt Glocester.

Moreover, here in the River off Severne att the New and Full off the Moone, there is thatt which is called the tide head, which is a sodaine swifftt and violentt rushing Forward off the Flood, in Manner off a billow turning the Currantt which First ran downe instantly backe againe upward, running with thatt rising and swifftly rowling Forward (like a sea over a Flatte or shoald) Many miles uppe in the Country about Glocester. Itt happens only att the First of the Flood and is presently [quickly] overpast, occasioned, it seemes, through the striving beetweene the tide off Floud From the Sea and the currant From the River, the water rising in this contention att their Meeting place, till att length the Sea

of "artificial forciers" erected in 1582 and 1594. See Stow, ed. Wheatley, p. 18.

As to the "waterhouse" at Worcester, Mr C. B. Shuttleworth refers me to Green, *Hist. of Worcester*, II. 17, who says: "The city waterworks, formerly situated near the East end of the new bridge [*i.e.* the present one] and the conflux of the divided stream of the river by an islet (now cleared away) which extended itself from the old bridge to that place (the left current on which they stood bearing the name of the Little Severn), are removed, and reconstructed at the upper end of Pitchcroff, about a mile North of the city."

overmaistring the River maketh his passage perforce, driveth it backe againe beffore him. Itt is said there is such a one att Bridgewater, though nott soe greatt, having Not hitherto seene any other in England; butt att Roane in Normandy there is one Farre greater, which is called the Boare, and I heard say att my beeing att Suratt, there is one in the River off Cambayett in East India[1].

Cotswold Downes.

The 7th of August [1639]. I departed from Glocester, and aboutt 20 Mile in our way came to Burfford. Beetweene these 2 places wee passed over some off Cottswold downes, off which the woolle is Much Nominated [celebrated] and prized in our kingdome[2], the land resembling some part off Salisbury plaine.

The River Isis: Oxfford.

From Burfford wee came to Ensame Ferry[3], 9 Miles, where wee crossed over the River Isis, which nott Farre From hence joyneth with the River Tame, making both together the River Tamisis or Thames. From thence to Oxfford 3 miles; in all From Glocester to Oxfford 32 Miles[4].

Collidges, Studentts: University Schoole Library and Anatomy Schoole.

Things among the rest Notable here Are the Many Magnifficente structures off their stately, spacious and comodious built Colledges, The Worcks off Kings, Queenes and other

[1] Mundy does not appear to have known that "bore" was a general term for tidal waves like that occurring in the Severn, and was not confined to Rouen. The bore on the Parret at Bridgwater only rises 9 ft. while that on the Severn rises 18 ft. For Mundy's remarks on the bore in the Seine at Rouen, see vol. I. pp. xviii–xix. The spring tides at Cambay rise upwards of 30 ft.

[2] "The famous Hills of Cotswold, upon which great flockes of sheepe doe feede, yielding most white wooll, much esteemed of all Nations" (Moryson, *Itinerary*, ed. MacLehose, IV. 148).

[3] Ensame Ferry, *i.e.* a ferry on the Isis near Eynsham. Mundy is wrong about the Thame which does not join the Thames before it reaches Dorchester (Oxon) about 25 miles further down the river, but he seems to have known that the Isis is the designation of the Thames above Oxford.

[4] The distance is at least 40 miles according to present-day reckoning. For a note on mileage see the end of this Relation.

Famous persons: Allsoe the greatt Number off pretty, civill, well Featured, Nurtured youth, their long gownes and Fine Foure cornered cappes beecomming them better in my opinion then any other habitt they can putt on. Among the buildings, the University Schoole, and in it the library, deserve admiration[1], with the Anatomy Schoole, w[h]ere, among the rest were the skeletons or anatomy off a Man and a woman (No difference off sex to bee discerned by their bones)[2], with some rarities, as a seahorse sculle, dodoes, straunge Fowles, Fishes, shells, etts[3]; each Collidge having their greatt hall, Chappell and library.

Magdalin Collidge: the Chappell.

Among the Chappells, thatt off Magdalin Collidge, where att the upper end off the quire is the birth, passion, resurrection and ascention off our Saviour very largely and exquisitely sett Forth in coullours[4]. This is not usuall with us, yett in my Minde comely and comendable; allsoe the windowes in scripture stories don artificially in lively coullours, onely att the upper end, in white and blacke, very largely representing the last Judgementt[5]. In the said Chappell is

[1] By the "University Schoole" and Library Mundy means the Divinity School completed in the 15th century by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who also erected the Library over it. This was subsequently repaired and furnished by Sir Thomas Bodley (who died in 1612) and is now known as the Bodleian (or Bodley's) Library.

[2] Compare the *Travels of Cosmo III* (1669), p. 262: "Oxford...the Anatomical Theatre...except the skin of a man stuffed with tow, a woman's foot, from the end of one of whose toes was a horn growing out, and sundry animals and skeletons hung up against the wall, there was little to be seen that was curious."

[3] Very few of the "rarities" that Mundy saw have survived, but a few are to be found in the Natural History Museum, Oxford, among them, as Prof. E. S. Goodrich informs me, the head and right foot of a dodo.

[4] The rich decoration at the East end of Magdalen College Chapel, which aroused Mundy's admiration, was probably sculpture, perhaps in imitation of the reredos of All Souls' which was originally coloured. It was most likely removed and destroyed by Cromwell's troopers in 1649. The altar-piece by Isaac Fuller (1606–1672) was painted after the Restoration. See H. A. Wilson, *Magdalen College*, pp. 147, 189–190, 228–9; *Magdalen College Register*, II. xcvi; *Notes and Queries*, vol. CXLVI. (March 1924), pp. 215–216.

[5] These windows were taken down and concealed at the time of the Great Rebellion but were discovered and demolished by Cromwell's troopers. See Wood, *Colleges and Halls of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, p. 351.

a pretty Marble Monumentt, allthough plaine, yett off a greatt expression, off 2 brethren Named Thomas and John Littleton, off good parentage, who going to recreate themselves on the Thames, one off them Fell in. The other going to helpe his Brother, they were sodainely and unhappily drowned both together[1].

St Johns Chappell.

St Johns Collidge Chappell, yett a building, allready guilt, partly paved with checkred worcke off blacke and white Marble, as Most off the rest are, and to bee painted in imitation off Magdalin chappell[2].

Christ Church.

Christs church, a Cathedralle, allsoe very excellenttly sett Forth, with Faire windowes off scripture stories in lively coulloured painted glasse, sett uppe butt last yeare, 1638[3]. The said Church was built by Cardinall Wollsey (as I was told) outt off the Ruines off Osney Abbey[4]. Hee died beeffore it was Finished, intending a Mighty peece off Worcke as it seemes by Foundationes and many unperffitt parts therof

[1] The monument on the East wall in the North part of the Ante-Chapel, consisting of the effigies of two young men in winding sheets holding an inscription written by their father, is fully described by Wood (*op. cit.*, p. 338). They were John and Thomas Lyttelton, sons of Sir Thomas Lyttelton (1596–1650), the elder of whom lost his life in 1635 in attempting to save his drowning brother. The act is commemorated by Abraham Cowley in his *Elegy on the death of John Lyttelton Esq.*

[2] Mr W. H. Stevenson, Librarian of St John's College, informs me that Dr William Heywood, Fellow, gave £100 to the College in 1663 and that the money was applied "to complete the paving, apparently of the ante-chapel." The pavement that Mundy saw was probably in another part of the building. The black and white marble flooring survived till 1843. See Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

[3] The windows in Christchurch Cathedral, which replaced those left by Wolsey, were painted by Abraham van Ling, *c.* 1634. In 1648 they were broken and taken down "as anti-christian, diabolical and popish" (Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 463).

[4] Mundy was misinformed. The Bishop's See was translated from Osney, where Henry VIII had first fixed it in 1542, to St Frideswide's in 1545, and the foundation, later known as Christchurch, established. It was part of the Priory Church of St Frideswide which was demolished by Wolsey to make way for his College and Chapel in 1525, and the materials were probably used for the new building. See Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 420–1, 431.

withoutt. Some off the Ruines off Osney yett stand, as the square high tower, etts. It seemes to have bin a very greatt place[1]. The Citty hath one extraordinary long Faire streete [the High] From the Conduit[2] going downe to Magdaline Collidge: a greatt Many bookseellers and two printers beelonguing to the University[3].

Woodstocke: Rosamund's Well.

I wentt one day to Woodstocke, and there I saw the Kings Mannour house, pleasauntly seated on a little hill standing alone in the midest off a pretty vally, Allso Rosumunds well by the towne; butt I know nott where there were any such labourinth as is spoken off in the song[4].

[1] Osney Priory founded by Robert d'Oili (nephew of the Norman Sheriff of Oxford), in 1129. See Leland's description of the place (ed. Toulmin Smith), I. 123–5.

[2] Carfax conduit, erected in 1610 by Otho Nicholson. See Wood, *Survey of Oxford*, ed. Clark, I. 441–2.

[3] The Controller of the University Press, Oxford, informs me that, according to Falconer Madan's *Chart of Oxford Printing*, "1468"–1900, the University Printers at the time of Mundy's visit were Thomas Robinson and Matthew Hunt. The Rev. H. Slater, Chaplain of Magdalen College, however, states that the two printers at work in 1639 were William Turner 1625–1640 and Leonard Litchfield 1635–1657. He adds that "by the Charter of Charles I the University was allowed to have as many as three printers, but usually there were only two."

[4] The writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213 describes (fol. 342*a*) "Woodstocke... that famous Court and Princely Castle and Pallace."

Of the Labyrinth he remarks (fol. 343*a*): "Rosamonds bower. The Labirinth where that fayre Lady and great Monarch-Concubine was surpris'd by a clew of Silke...I found nothing in this Bower but ruines, but many strong and strange winding walls and turnings and a dainty cleare square pav'd well, knee deep, wherein this beautifull Creature sometimes did wash and bath her selfe."

Moryson also remarks (IV. 149): "A labyrinth unpassable by any without a threed to guide them, but no ruines thereof now remaine."

The "song" to which Mundy refers is the ballad of *Fair Rosamond*, first published by Thomas Deloney, *c.* 1607, in his collection entitled *Strange Histories*, &c. It is included in *Percy's Reliques*. The verses which Mundy had in mind—there are 48—are as follows:

"The King therefore, for her defence
Against the furious queene,
At Woodstocke builded such a bower,
The like was never seene.

Most curiously that bower was built
Of stone and timber strong,
An hundered and fifty doors
Did to this bower belong.

Hincksey and Medley, places by Oxford.

I allsoe was att Hincksey and Medley, places a little without the Citty, where the Inhabitantts resort in summer tyme to walke and recreate themselves, the Thames Making Many divisions and windings in thatt vally round aboutt the Citty in a Manner[1].

Abbington etts [and other] townes on London way from Oxford.

The 16th of August [1639]. I came to London by Journeies, passing through severall townes, *viz.*, Abbington, where is a pretty crosse[2], Henly uppon Thames, Maydenhead, Colebrooke [Colnbrook], Braynefford [Brentford], etts.

Theobalds.

The 10th September [1639]. I tooke my Journey to see Sturbridge Faire, soe much Nominated [celebrated], and accompted the biggest held in England. I First came to Theobalds; there they showed mee the Chamber where King James died[3], a long gallery garnished with stagges, Harts hornes, etts., King Charles his bedstead, boarded as itt is in Spayne; hee is said to sleepe allsoe on quilted bedds in the Summer tyme as they doe there[4]. Here is a Faire gardeine with spatious walkes[5].

> And they so cunningly contriv'd
> With turnings round about,
> That none but with a clue of thread
> Could enter in or out."

[1] Medley, 2 miles N.W. of Oxford, anciently a seat of the Priors of Osney. North and South Hinksey are villages in the same neighbourhood.

[2] Abingdon's fine cross was destroyed in 1644. See Wood, *Survey of Oxford*, I. 450 *n.*

[3] Theobalds Mansion, built by Lord Burghley *c.* 1564, was given over to James I (who converted it into a Royal Palace) by Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, in 1607, in exchange for Hatfield House. The Palace was dismantled and most of it pulled down in 1651. See *Inventory of the Hist. Monuments of Hertfordshire*, p. 78.

[4] By a "boarded" bedstead Mundy seems to mean a wooden bedstead set in an alcove, and by "quilted beds" open divans, used in the hot weather for coolness, or perhaps only padded quilts.

[5] "The stately house Thibaulds, for building, Gardens and Walks" (Moryson, IV. 149). See also Sir Roger Wilbraham's description (*Journal*, pp. 22–23) in 1598/9 before its transfer to the Crown.

Hattffeilde: Enffeild chace.

From thence I went towards Hattffeilde, over partt off Enffeild Chace, passing by a house off my lord off Bedffords[1]. I saw only the outtside off Hattffeild house, My lord off Salisbury unto whom itt apertaines beeing then within it[2]. It is a Neatt [well-kept] place to see to, as are the gardeins, and allthough somwhatt plaine, yett wondrous polite [trim. orderly].

Saint Albones.

From thence I went to St Albones, 7 miles outt off my way to Sturbridge, yett my businesse considered, I cannott bee said to goe outt off my way. Here is a very greatt Church and off a wonderffull length, and Paules excepted, the longuest that I have yett seene. In old tyme it was a Famous Abby, the outer buildings ruinated, the Church and steeple entire[3].

The tomb off St Albon, The good Duke Humphrey, Sir John Mandevill.

Here lieth buried St Albon, the First Brittish Marter off Note, putt to death under Dioclesian the Romane E[m]perour. Here is now No More to bee seene then a plaine low large blacke Tombe stone, the other stones round aboutt Near unto it worne and deepely indented by the long and Frequentt kneeling off those devoted to his shrine, wherof Now Nothing lefft butt the stone afforesaid[4].

[1] Francis Russell (1593–1641), 4th Earl of Bedford.
The house alluded to by Mundy was probably Moor Park, granted to Lucy Countess of Bedford, wife of the 3rd Earl, by James I in 1617. She laid out an elaborate garden there. See Wiffen, *Memoirs of the House of Russell*, II. 118.

[2] William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury (1591–1648). See *ante*, note on p. 29.

[3] The original length of St Albans Abbey was 539 ft. and that of Old St Paul's, as given by Stow (ed. Wheatley, p. 292), was 720 ft., but modern investigations show that it was about 596 ft. The present length of St Albans Abbey from East to West is 550 ft.

[4] St Alban was martyred in A.D. 303 under Diocletian and is usually held to be the protomartyr of Britain. His shrine was destroyed in the 16th century and used for building material, but was restored in the latter part of the 19th century from fragments found imbedded in a wall.

Here lyeth allsoe buried the good duke Humphry: No More Now butt the upper part off a Monumentt to bee seene. Hee died or was poisoned aboutt the tyme off the Civill Warres beetweene the Houses off Yorcke and Lancastar[1]. Allsoe Sir John Mandevill, the traveller, off whome a booke beares the Name, supposed Never to bee Made by him, there beeing in it soe many incredolous stories and unlikeliehoods.

I find since in Stowes Chronicle in the Reigne of Edward 3d thatt Sir John Mandevile was borne att St Albones and thatt hee died att Liege, Anno 1371, and was there buried. It lyeth beetweene Germany and France. However, in St Albons Church there is an inscription sett upp against one of the pillars in Latin which made mee conceave hee had bin buried there[2].

Royston.

The 11th September [1639]. I tooke my way towards Cambridge and passed by Roiston where is another off the Kings houses. There beeing No body att home, I could Not gett in.

[1] Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, known as the Good Duke Humphrey (1391–1447). Mundy is repeating the popular story, never verified, which attributed his death to foul play.

[2] This paragraph is written at the foot of the page as a note, and seems to be a late addition by Mundy's pen.

Sir John Mandeville, the ostensible author of the book of travels bearing his name, is now generally identified with the individual buried under the name of John de Mandeville at Liège in 1372. The legend of his burial at St Albans was of later growth. In the *St Albans Abbey Guide of* 1824, p. 55, occurs the passage: "Among other persons of note reported to have been buried in this church in ancient times is a celebrated traveller, and native of St Albans, Sir John Mandeville; to whose memory different inscriptions have been pencilled on the 2d column from the West, on the North side of the nave, near which he is said to be buried." The Latin inscription, followed by an eight-line English verse, is, in reality, painted in black lettering on the second pier North of the West door. Under it is scratched in an early 16th century hand: Syr John Mandevylle, knyght." See Clutterbuck, *Hist. of Hertfordshire*, I. 59, 82; *Vict. Co. Hist. Hertfordshire*, II. 505. The passage in Stow to which Mundy refers seems to be the following (*Annals*, ed. 1592, pp. 419, 420): "1371. Sir John Mandevill deceased...he died at Leiden, the 17 of November, 1379, and was buried in the Abbey of the Williammites." Then follows his epitaph taken from the Itinerarium of Abraham Ortelius who "professed to have seene the monument of the said Sir John Mandeville in the city of Leiden." By "Leiden" Stow, however, evidently meant "Liège."

Itt is butt plain and Meane in appearance[1]. From hence to Cambridge. Note, thatt this is a wonderfull corne country, as Mightt bee Judged by the tillage and plenty off good Ale and beare generally here to bee had.

Cambridge.

Cambridge on the outtside hath Nothing Near the Faire prospecte thatt Oxfford hath. Thatt evening I lay in Trinity Collidge, beeing accidentally invited by some studentts off None off the highest rancke, wher whatt entertaynement I had off them and whatt other passages hapned beetweene us willbee to[o] prolex For this place.

Sturbridge Faire: Comodities and accomodation.

The 12th September [1639]. I wentt downe the River Grauntt [Granta] in a tilted boate[2], and aboutt a Mile distantt From the Citty came to the place where Sturbridge Faire is keptt on a playne in tentts and boothes, Making Streetes and lanes with their particular Names, plentifully Furnished with all Manner off Comodities, especially hoppes, off which I thinck there were Nott lesse then 2000 bagges lying on the Feild; allsoe woolle, Cloath, salt Fish, tarre, plate, brasse ware, wodden ware, all Manner off Necessaries, even to shoppes off old bootes and shooes, and Near 40 wyne tavernes. Soe having eaten some off their oysters, which were excellentt, and tasted some off their wyne and good Lynne beere outt off their boates which come From thence, I lefft the Faire and came backe to Cambridge thatt evening by land. I had Forgotte the Multitude off Alehouses, victualling houses, etts.[3]

[1] The remaining vestiges of the Palace built by James I at Royston and the buildings which he incorporated in it are situated on the E. side of Kneesworth Street. They consist of small portions of the "King's Lodgings," Stables, and the "House," the rest having been demolished, probably early in the 18th century. See *Vict. Co. Hist. Hertfordshire*, III. 256; *Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Hertfordshire*, pp. 174–5.

[2] By a "tilted boat" Mundy means a large rowing boat with a tilt or awning such as were formerly used on the Thames, especially as passenger boats between London and Gravesend.

[3] Sturbridge (Stourbridge) Fair, so called because held (at Barnwell) near a bridge over the brook Stour, a tributary of the Cam, had a world-

Trinity Collidge: Kings Collidge Chappell.

Next Morning I walked the streetes and saw the Collidges, and Neither in the one Nor other comparable to Oxfford according to my small observation, Trinity collidge beeing the Cheiffest and largest in the Citty. Indeed, Kings Collidge Chappell is a loffty stately building and Much beautiffies the place. Itt hath very high and Ritche windowes off scripture stories in coulloured glasse, don in King Henry the 8ths tyme, Not soe artificiall, Nett and true as Now adaies are made off thatt kind, as those in Christs Church and Magdalyn Collidge in Oxfford; this was built by King Henry the 8 afforesaid[1].

Peterhouse Chappell.

Moreover, Peterhouse Chappell deserves Notice and commendation For Curious Worckmanshippe in carving, exquisite art in pictures and nettness off paving off polished shining Marble white and blacke; A Ritch standing deske, pedestall and all off shyning brasse, the best I have yett seene[2].

wide reputation and attracted traders from abroad as early as the 3rd century A.D. Its first charter was granted by King John. The Fair commenced on the 18th September and lasted until the 10th October. It is now only commemorated by Horse-Fair Day on the 25th September. Defoe, who attended the Fair in September 1723 (*Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, I. 122–130), says it was "kept in a large Cornfield, near Casterton," that the "Shops" were "placed in Rows like Streets, whereof one is call'd Cheapside," and that "scarce any Traders" were omitted, but that all were "out done, at least in Show, by two Articles," the "peculiars" of the Fair, "the Wooll and the Hops."

The number of shops had decreased in 1794, but the trade carried on was still considerable. The Fair was "laid out" on the 4th September, proclaimed on the 18th, and Horse-Fair Day was on the 25th (*A Description of the County of Cambridge*, p. 150). See also *MS.* 106 Corpus Christi Coll. (*c.* 1550), Nos. 31–36; Hopton, *Concordancy of Years* 1612 *and* 1615; Rogers, *Travels* (1694), pp. 71–72; Macky, *Journey through England* (1714), pp. 94–95; "Sturbich Fair" in *An Authentic Account...of all the Fairs in England* (1765); Postlethwayt, *Dict. of Trade* (1774), I. *s.v.* Fairs; MacCulloch, *Dict. of Commerce* (1869–1871); Walford, *Fairs Past and Present* (1883).

[1] King's College, Cambridge, was founded by Henry VI in 1441 and the Chapel was erected in his reign, but the stained-glass windows were added in the time of Henry VIII, 1515–1531. See Dyer, *History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, p. 201.

[2] Peterhouse Chapel, begun in 1628 under Dr Matthew Wren (Master, 1625–1634), was consecrated in 1632. The pavement of black and white marble was the gift of Frances, wife of Dr Cosin, who succeeded Wren.

The 13th September [1639]. I came From Cambridge, passing through sundry townes, *viz.*, Barckway, [blank].

Ware: the great bed there.

And soe to Ware, where I was shewed the greatt bed, in Forme like others, with testerpillars, etts., butt I conceave the bedsted to bee beetweene 9 and 10 Foote square every way, wherin May ly 8 persons one by another[1].

London.

The 14th ditto. I came againe to London, there Never wanting company in thatt greatt rode way, especially this Faire tyme.

Rochester.

The 26th off September. I tooke my Journey towards the Downes to see the greatt Fleete then riding there[2]. I passed over Shooters hill Near London, and came to Rochester. There is a very Faire stone bridge[3] and a greatt Fall off waters Ebbing and Flowing, a Ruined Castle and auntientt walles aboutt the Citty.

William Dowsing, the Parliamentary Agent, who visited Peterhouse in 1643, caused a great deal of the carved work to be pulled down and portions of the glass defaced. See *College Histories: Peterhouse*, pp. 30, 104–6, 109–110; Willis, *Archaeol. Hist. of the Univers. of Cambridge*, I. 41, 43, 48.

The late Sir Adolphus Wm. Ward and the Rev. Dr T. A. Walker, Master and Bursar of Peterhouse, have kindly made an exhaustive search among the accounts of the Chapel, but can find no trace of the lectern Mundy saw. They are of opinion that it was the gift of a private individual and was destroyed by Dowsing or by his orders.

[1] The "great bed of Ware" bears the date 1463, but its construction is referred to the latter part of the 16th century. It is a four-post bedstead of carved oak and measures 11 ft. square and 8 ft. high.

When Mundy saw it, the bed was at the Saracen's Head, Ware, but it is now at the Rye House in Stanstead Abbots. See *Vict. Co. Hist. Hertfordshire*, III. 367.

[2] Sir John Pennington, Admiral of the Fleet, arrived in the Downs in July 1639 where he found seven ships of the Royal Navy, and from that date the fleet was constantly reinforced. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, pp. 376, 390, 394, 399.

[3] "Rochester Bridge, the largest, highest, and the strongest built of all the Bridges in England, except London Bridge" (Defoe, I. Pt. II. p. 20).

Chattam: The Chaine.

From thence to Chattam, where 5 shippes off the Navy were ready to goe downe in to the Downes, and others a Making ready with all expedition. A mile below Chattam is a place called the Chaine, where in tyme past was a Chaine indeede that went thwart over the Creeke (as att Bayon). Now there is None[1].

Jillingame: The greatt shippe *Royall Soveraigne*.

A Mile below thatt Againe is Jillingame [Gillingham], beeffore which rode the great *Royall Sovereigne*, which shippe I saw on the stockes in Aprill 1636 when wee wentt Forth our China voyage[2], Her head, wast, quarter and sterne soe largely inritched with Carved worcke overlaid with golde thatt itt appeares Most glorious even From a Farre, especially her spatious loffty stately sterne, Wheron is expressed all thatt art and cost can doe in Carving and guilding; her beakehead about 28 Foote over, where it is joyned to her bowes; her inside as admirably contrived For strength, comelinesse, nett spatious Cabins, roomes, etts.; steered by takles on the Tiller, as Carrickes[3], directed From aloft by a truncke[4], wherein the voice is conveyed to them below; her Cookroome in hold, the worcke therein don by Candlelightt. Shee is said to have carried 92 brasse peeces off Ordnance[5]. Shee hath 5 greatt lanthornes. In the biggest may stand 12 or

[1] The chain seems to have been only placed across the river in time of danger. In his last Appendix Mundy relates that the Dutch came up the Medway in June 1667 and broke "the great Iron Chaine" at "Guillingham." See Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, p. 411; Hasted, *Hist. of Kent*, II. 73.

Mundy was at Bayonne as a lad in 1608–1610 and again visited the place in 1625 (see vol. I), but he has no reference in his MS. to a chain across the harbour there.

[2] See vol. III. Pt. I. pp. 15, 16.

[3] Carrick bitts are defined in the *O.E.D.* as upright pieces of timber near the ends of the windlass, in which are the gudgeons for the spindles to work on.

[4] Trunk is used in its obsolete sense of a pipe employed as a speaking tube.

[5] See *N. and Q.*, 1916, p. 488, where it is stated that an estimate, dated 16th April 1638, for engraving 102 pieces of brass ordnance for the *Sovereign of the Seas* is still in existence at the Public Record Office. See also *op. cit.*, 1917, pp. 36, 37, for further information regarding the ship's guns.

13 Men[1]. Her [blank] was cutt in brasse by thatt excellentt graver and painter, Mr John Paine, and a large discription of her sett Forth in a book by [blank][2].

The *Bucintoro* att Venice For carving and guilding may bee compared to her, butt For greattnesse as a Frigatt to a Galleon[3].

By Chattam is the Kings yard, wherin are 2 dockes. In one of them was the *Merhonneur*, one off the 4 shippes Royall[4]. By the yard, the Ropemakers Feild, where is the longuest rooffe thatt ever I saw (excepting the long gallery att Paris)[5]. This serves in tyme off Raine For the Ropemakers to spynne their Yarne etts. worcke.

There was no lodging to bee had in Chattam by reason off the Number of seamen repaired thither to goe Forth with the Kings shippes[6]. This is the place where the Kings Navy, shippes Royall, etts. (when they are outt off Imploymentt)

[1] This large lantern, or rather lighthouse for the protection of the lantern, must have been a noticeable part of the vessel. When Pepys visited "The *Soverayne*" in January 1660/1, he and his friends "all went into the lanthorne together" (*Diary*, ed. Wheatley, I. 328).

[2] Mundy's remark on the engraving of the *Royal Sovereign* by John Payne is valuable. The writer of an article on the *Sovereign of the Seas* in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 30th Sept. 1920 remarks that Payne's engraving "must have been done between 1637 and 1647, the date of Payne's death." On Mundy's evidence it was executed not later than 1639. The "large description" is Thomas Heywood's *True description of His Majesty's Royal Ship, built in this year*, 1637, &c., published in 1638. See also *Travels of Cosmo III*, pp. 357–8; and, for a full history of the ship, see the *Mariner's Mirror*, April-July, 1913.

[3] See vol. I. pp. 95–96.

[4] The royal dockyard at Chatham was built by Queen Elizabeth and altered and improved by Charles I and Charles II. See *Travels of Cosmo III*, p. 359.

The *Merhonour* had been brought to Chatham for inspection and reconstruction in 1638 by order of the Lords of the Admiralty. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637–8, pp. 24, 30, 132, 202.

[5] Hasted (*Hist. of Kent*, II. 71) says that the "Rope-House" was "very extensive, being upwards of 700 feet in length."

For Mundy's remarks on the "Long Gallery" of the Louvre see vol. I. p. 126.

[6] Ten merchant ships had been detained in the Downs for His Majesty's service, together with their crews, ordnance and ammunition, but on the 19th September Sir John Pennington was informed that there was still a shortage of men for the King's ships "for of the 2,000 men we labour to get...we have not been able to procure as yet above 300." See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, pp. 505, 511.

are broughtt in For more Security, the Creeke allthough Narrow, yett deepe. This night I lay att Rochester.

Canterbury.

The 27th September [1639]. Taking my Journey towards Deale, I passed through Canterbury, in whose Cathedrall Church is the Fairest ritchest and Neatest Font that ever I saw, off Marble both white and blacke, having severall degrees or steppes ascending to the same, off Marble allsoe, with a large Faire guilt Iron Raile round aboutt the Cover, off excellent wood and off curious worckemanshippe, to bee lifted or lowred by a pully[1]. The glasse windowes within the quire make a very delightsome shew by reason off the quantity and variety off excellentt coulloured glasse, contrived in scripture stories in Many compartmentts[2]; Rundles prettyly composed For shew[3].

Deale: The greatt Fleet in the Downes.

Beeing come to Deale, I saw there a greatt Fleete riding all along beeffore the Beach, extending in all Near 3 miles, in Number about 160, wherof 52 or 53 Spanish, aboutt 80 or 90 Hollanders, the rest English, all seeming to bee butt one Fleete. The Dutch rode to the Southward, the Spaniard inward toward the North, and our Kings shippes (etts. [and other] English Merchauntt Men staied [detained] For his Majesties service) rode beetweene them both. Such a warlike Fleete was Never knowne in our age to bee together[4].

[1] The font at Canterbury Cathedral was erected by Dr John Warner, Bishop of Rochester in 1636, and was adorned with figures of the four Evangelists &c. It was pulled down in the Civil War and the materials carried away, but fragments were afterwards collected and the whole re-erected. See Duncombe, *Canterbury*, p. 52; Willis, *Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 105.

[2] In 1642 "The windows were generally battered and broken down" by the Puritan troopers, but a portion of the old glass has been preserved" (Willis, *op. cit., loc. cit.*). Evelyn, who was at Canterbury in 1641, remarks on the "famous windows being entire, since demolished by the fanatics" (*Diary*, ed. Bray, I. 37).

[3] By "rundles prettyly composed for shew" Mundy seems to mean small round windows of painted glass.

[4] See *infra* for an account of the assembling of the fleets and the subsequent engagement in the Downs between the Dutch and Spaniards.

The Hollanders beesides their Mayne Fleete have sundry vessells riding in a Manner round about the Spaniard to seaward, to watch thatt None off them escape, For att their First comming 12 or 13 saile off Dunckerkers beelonguing to the Spanish Fleete gotte cleare away into Dunkercke with Souldiers, Monies, Munition, etts. supplies[1].

The *Santiago* or *St James*: The *Santa Tereza*.

I went aboard the Spanish Admirall, called *Santiago*, burthen aboutt 1000 tonne, with 800 Men, 60 peeces Ordnance; this by their owne relation, with 5 lanthornes, 2 galleries; in Spaine shee is viceadmirall to the Kings Armada: Don Antonio de Oquendo generall off this Fleete. From thence I wentt aboard the *Santa Tereza*[2], galleon off Portugall, the Fairest and biggest shippe off them all, aboutt 1100 tunnes. Shee was built For an East India Carracke, [and] after[wards] appointed For this expedition.

The presentt perplexity off the Spaniard.

They have aboundance of Men in their Fleete, butt most part sickly, tattred, and questionlesse inexpert either for souldiers or saylers; all in generall perplexed in this extremity, yett preparing For the Fightt againe, and repayring whatt hath bin dammaged by the Hollanders in the last skirmish, where hee lost one shippe blowne uppe and the Spaniard another thatt was taken[3]. What Men were slaine on either side is Nott yett Maniffest. Doubtlesse the Spaniard had much the worst, as appeares by losse and spoile off Masts

[1] In reality it was fourteen sail of the Spanish fleet which "stole away" and escaped to Dunkirk early in September 1639. A complaint was made to Charles I by the Dutch Admiral, who alleged that he wished to place a guard off the North Foreland to prevent the escape of any of the Spanish ships, but that he was prevented by Admiral Pennington. See *infra*, Relation XXXII, for further remarks on the Dunkirkers, the pirates of the Channel and the North Sea, at this date.

[2] The *Santa Teresa* was commanded by Admiral Lopes de Ores y Cordova.

[3] The Spanish fleet had been attacked by a small Dutch fleet under Admiral Martin Tromp on its way to Flanders, on the 8th September, and had sheltered itself in the Downs by the side of an English squadron. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 491.

and boltspritts, etts. tackling. They have Now a sicknesse amongst them, and many dye, whose bodies beeing Flung overboard, some of them are washtt ashoare along the beach[1]. Both Hollander and Spaniard indifferently come ashoare to buy provision, reffreshing, etts., in the Markett, one among the other as Freinds[2].

The English Admirall: The Dutch Admirall.

Then wentt I aboard the English Admirall, Sir Jhon [*sic*] Pennington, in the *Unicorne*[3], and From thence aboard the *Amelie*, Admiral off Holland, where I Found them lusty, healthy and Frolicke [merry], encouraged by Former good successes and this presentt Fortunate oportunity which they will hardly lett goe; but Now, For respect to the Kings Chamber, Forbear a while to give the onsett[4], in the Meane tyme dilligently watching and earnestly wishing their comming Forth, having allsoe in their Fleet 8 or 10 Fire shippes Fitted with chaines, grapnells, etts.[5] To say the truth, the

[1] On receipt of the news of the outbreak of sickness in the Spanish fleet, Charles I gave orders that the sufferers might be landed and cared for at Dover. For this concession the Spanish Admiral "uttered many thankful acknowledgements" but as he "had taken order to send his sick to Dunkirk" he "had no occasion in this particular, to make use of his Majesty's grace and favour." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639–40, p. 13.

[2] On the 19th September 1639 Sir John Manwood wrote from Dover Castle: "There is daily a great store of Spanish people ashore and some Hollanders. I sent to prohibit their landing unless they be people of quality, or upon extraordinary necessities, for there is neither the safeguard sufficient to keep the peace nor are the castles in a condition to give assistance." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 510.

[3] Sir John Pennington, on his arrival in the Downs, in July 1639, found at anchor there, the *Vanguard*, the *Victory*, the *James*, the *Unicorn*, the *Leopard*, the *Providence* and "the City's ship, also called the *Unicorn*." It was, of course, the King's ship, *Unicorn*, that Mundy went aboard. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 377.

[4] On the 10th Sept. 1639 the Earl of Northumberland wrote to Sir John Pennington: "I am confident the Hollanders will be so 'respective' to the King our master as not to offer violence to the Spaniards whilst they are under his Majesty's protection in the Downs." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 493.

[5] On the 25th Sept. 1639 Sir John Manwood at Dover reported that "The Holland Admiral has some fire ships sent to him, and some landsmen to fortify his men-of-war, and the Spanish General conveys his landsmen away as [fast as] he can find means." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 522.

Spaniard is beecome as it were a prey unto them, For I have heard themselves say, some thatt [it] is even a lost Fleete, others wishing their shippes uppe in our River, and such like.

A doubtfull Case.

In my opinion a doubtfull State businesse, soe intricate thatt the like hath nott hapned to England these Many yeares. How itt possibly May bee carried without the incurring ill will off one off the 3 Nationes, Spanish, French or Dutch[1]. God turne all to the best. Our Kings Majestie preparing and expressing More shoppes [*sic*] and Men to bee in a readinesse on all occasiones Needffull, and as a Freind to either, Supplies the Spaniard (For his Mony) with provision, powder, Munition, etts.[2], and the like may bee unto the Dutch, if they had occasion.

The 28th September [1639]. Att Night I came and lodged att Sandwych.

Maidstone: Medway River.

The 29th ditto. I came to Maidstone, beetweene which and Sittingbourne is a wild woddy stony way; butt For the towne itt selffe I am off opinion thatt For Many Miles aboutt London there is Not a handsomer and cleanlier place, standing by the River Medway, which here runneth in his owne bignesse, very smalle. The tide comming uppe to towne bringueth uppe lighters, boattes, etts. with Merchandize, provisiones, etts. A greatt country it seemes For hoppes, and the towne hath a greatt trade For thridde [thread][3].

[1] The position was indeed "intricate," for no definite instructions could be extorted from Charles I as to how Sir John Pennington was to act if "the Hollanders should attempt any thing." He had been ordered to assist the "assailed party" but had no directions how to use his own small force in case the Spaniards preferred to "run themselves on shore [rather] than fight." See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 538.

[2] On the 16th Sept. a request by the Spanish Admiral for powder was refused, but on the 19th the King "permitted 500 barrels to go down to the Spanish fleet, but they have it not gratis." See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, pp. 504, 512.

[3] Pepys also in 1668/9 (*Diary*, p. 576) found "Maydstone...very pretty as most towns I ever saw, though not very big." Rogers (1694) also commends it (*Travels*, p. 56), and so does Fiennes, pp. 106–7.

The manufacture of linen thread was introduced into Maidstone at the end of the 16th century by Walloons (Belgian Protestants) who had

The 30th [*September* 1639]. I came to Gravesend.

The First off October. I came to London againe in my going and coming beetweene Deale and this, Meeting Many lords, knightts, Gentry posting and riding to and Fro, some aboutt businesse, butt Most to see and hear Newes. For this latter purpose went Multitudes off the common Sort.

The Destruction off the Spanish Fleete.

The 14th ditto. Uppon the rumour off the Fightt to bee beegun beetweene the Hollander and the Spaniard, I returned to the Downes in company offe another Freind, where beeffore our arrivall, all was over. There saw wee some reliques off the ruined Spanish Fleete, *viz*., 7 ashoare, wherof one burned, the rest bulged[1] and utterly lost; the Country people att worck aboutt some in breakin them uppe For the tymber and Iron worcke. One off the suncke shippes is a greatt galleon [the *Santa Teresa*] with 2 galleries. Aboutt 14 More were yett riding att Anchor, butt how they may gett away is uncertaine[2].

The Misery off the Remaynder off the Spaniards.

The Hollander Now returned From the Fightt rides within a league off Deale with aboutt 70 saile, attending on the remaynder off the poore Spaniard[s], off whome Many hundreds now in Deale and scattred uppe and downe the Country begguing[3]. They seeme generally by the collour off their cloathes to bee labourers, picaros [Sp. *picaro*, vagabond], etts. poore people, the collour pardo [Sp. *pardo*, grey, tawny] or browne peculier to such, and by confession off themselves

fled from Flanders to escape the rule of the Duke of Alva. The manufacture was still carried on in the early part of the last century. Brayley, *Beauties of England—Kent*, pp. 1246–7.

[1] Bulged, *i.e.* with the bottom or sides stove in. The term is now obsolete.

[2] The losses of the Spaniards were variously stated in the different narratives. See Mundy's account, *infra*, and footnote.

[3] On the 14th October the Earl of Suffolk reported that he had ordered Sir John Manwood to do the best he could "concerning the Spaniards come on shore," and that at Dover and Deal he reckoned the number to be about 2000, "poor and miserable people as ever I beheld, for the most part without any money at all." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639–40, p. 35.

many off them were beetraied in their owne country, beeinge surprized by officers, taken, bound, sent to prison, and from thence aboard shippes.

The Manner how the fightt beegan: by Relation.

The beeguinning off the Fightt, by relation off Credible Eiewittnesses, was on Friday Morning early (the 11th currantt), att which tyme all the Hollanders were under saile, Making toward the Spaniard. The King[s] shippes allsoe sett saile. As they [the Dutch] drew Near the Spanish Fleete, they shotte att them, and our Kings shippes att the Hollander againe, as Forbidding them to offer violence in the Kings Chamber to his Freinds. Butt thatt would not availe. Soe having gotte the winde off the Spaniard, they came backe uppon them soe hotte, and withall sending some Fire shippes among them, thatt Immediatly aboutt 22 or 23 off them ran rightt ashoare on the beach voluntarily For saffety, and 2 or 3 [were] Fired. The rest Made to Sea and the Hollander affter. Our Kings shippes came From amongst them, giving them way, Following awhile; att last came to Anchor in their old places, leaving the others to try [lie to], who wentt shooting all the way till they were aboutt the Foreland, outt off sight off Deale, by report. Affter, it is said thatt 7 or 8 off the Spaniards were sodainely on Fired, among the rest the Galleon of Portugall Named the *Tereza*, the Fairest shippe in the Fleete, [and] was one off whome I had bin aboard, as afforementioned; Allsoe thatt the Admirall *Santiago* with [blank] gotte to Dunkercke, where the greatt shippes, Nott able to gett in, ride under a Fort Named the Splint[1].

[1] Mundy's narrative of the Battle of the Downs and the events preceding it is especially valuable, since he relates what he actually saw and heard from "Credible Eiewittnesses." The following account supplements the information given by him.

The Spanish fleet of 77 vessels, manned by 24,000 soldiers, was sighted off Plymouth on the 3rd Sept. 1639 and it was supposed to be bound for Flanders. On the 8th the skirmish alluded to on p. 38 took place and the Spanish Admiral sent to demand protection, a convoy, and ammunition from the English, all of which were refused, and the English fleet then in the Downs was further strengthened by the detention of all ships either homeward or outward bound.

The presence of the Spaniards in home waters caused much anxiety,

Many off this Fleete were hired shippes, Lubickers, etts.[1]

From Dealle wee returned For London againe.

and it was suggested to Sir John Pennington on the 19th Sept. that it was not "unworthy" his "consideration how the Spaniards may without blows, or with blows from us, be put away out of the Downs in case the King have a mind 'to pull down his neighbour's house rather than have his own burnt,' or would 'thrust out the fox that defiles the badger's nest.'" The Spanish Commander, however, declared that he was only waiting until masts, which were being provided for him at Dover, were ready, but the general opinion was that he was hoping for assistance from Dunkirk. Meanwhile, the Dutch fleet hovered near, was continually reinforced, and committed many "insolencies."

As stated above, no definite instructions could be extorted from Charles I as to the attitude to be taken up by his fleet in this emergency, and he apparently relied on the assurances given by the French and Dutch ambassadors, as late as the 2nd October, that they would not "attempt anything within the King's ports or roads." The "inconveniences that may happen by suffering these two great fleets to remain in the Downs" were "fully represented" to the King, but it was not until the 9th Oct. that, on a rumour that the Dutch were about to assault the Spaniards, he sent word to the Dutch Admiral that "he was resolved to limit a short time for both fleets to depart the Road." But it was then too late.

On the 11th October 1639 the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, sent three reports of the fight at different periods of the day to Secretary Windebank. To the last he added a P.S. "There are already numbers of men landed both at the Downs and Dover and more will daily come ashore."

According to Sir John Pennington's account, the engagement began at 8.0 a.m., but, owing to a fog, it was uncertain who fired the first shot. The English fleet stood to the Northward in order, as instructed, to be ready to assist the Spaniards if, with help, they were "able to make their party good." For this purpose they "stood in with the Hollanders, and shot many guns from all our ships, shooting many of them through, but they did not return one shot at us." The English fleet then returned to the Downs to prevent the Dutch from seizing the 24 Spanish ships which were run ashore, one of them being the Vice-Admiral, as Mundy states.

In a news-letter containing an account of the fight, the escape of Don Antonio de Oquendo with four other ships was reported.

The total number of Spanish ships run ashore, sunk, or burnt in the engagement with the Dutch fleet, including the Vice-Admiral sunk, was 25. For the documents on which the above information is based see *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, pp. 476 ff.; 1639–40, pp. 4 ff.

The Fort which Mundy calls the Splint was situated on the coast between Dunkirk and Mardyck, opposite a sandbank called Splinter, and was generally known as the Old Mardyck Fort. See Codde van Enchuysen, *Afheeldinghe van de vermaerde Seehaven ende Stadt van Duynkercken &c.*

[1] In his first report of the fight of the 11th October, dated 10 a.m., the Earl of Suffolk reported, "There are six Lubeckers already run ashore." *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639–40, p. 24.

Matters off Note which I saw att London since now my last comming uppe are, *viz.*

The King, Queene, Prince and Duke off Yorcke.

First, our Kings Majesty playing att Palle Malle by St James[1], and the Queenes Majesty att Masse in Whitehall[2], The Queene, Prince Charles and the Duke of Yarcke[3] in Cheapside att my Lord Mayors shew, who then was [blank] Garraway, Committee For the East India Company when I First went For India in Anno 1628[4].

The Kings gallery and banketting house att Whitehall.

Then the Kings gallery, Adorned with rare and Costly pictures (att Whitehall), Most off them off Titianus, and one smalle peece among the rest, I thincke nott 4 Foote square, off Raphaell Urbin, vallewed atte 3000 pound sterling; Allsoe the rooffe off the banketting house off Petrus Paulus Reubins

[1] The now obsolete game of Pell Mell (Paille Maille) played opposite St James's Palace in St James's Park, in what is now Pall Mall. See Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, pp. 70, 192. Compare Blount's description of the game (1670): "Pale Maille (Fr.) a game wherein a round bowle is with a Mallet struck through a high arch or iron (standing on either end of an Alley) which he that can do at the fewest blows, or at the number agreed on, wins. This Game was heretofore used at the Alley near St. Jameses, and vulgarly called Pel-Mell" (Blount, *Glossographia*, *s.v.* Pale Maille). Mundy has more to say of the game and of the place called "Pel Mel" in his last Appendix.

Of the Palace of St James and the game played in its grounds, Cosmo III remarks (*Travels*, p. 168): "The royal palace of St James, not very remote from the other palace of Whitehall, with which it connects by means of a large park enclosed on either side by a wall, and containing a long straight and spacious walk, intended for the amusement of the Mall, on each side of which grow large elms...."

[2] Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. The chapel in Whitehall Palace (Wolsey's York Palace) is frequently mentioned by Pepys (*Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, pp. 11, &c.).

[3] Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II and James Duke of York, afterwards James II.

[4] Sir Henry Garway or Garraway, son of Sir Wm. Garraway, was elected "one of the Committee" of the E.I. Co. in July 1624, and was Deputy-Governor from July 1635 to July 1639 when he retired and was re-elected one of the "six Committees." He was Lord Mayor in 1639–40, as Mundy states. See *Cal. S.P., E.I.*, 1622–4, No. 492; *Court Minutes*, 1635–9, pp. 72, 305. For a note on the Garraway family see *ante*, vol. I. pp. 14, 15.

doing, all pictures, Not serving butt ffor thatt purpose to bee placed overhead[1].

Yorckhouse.

I was allsoe att Yorckhouse, where I saw sundry rare ritche pictures, statues, roomes, curiosities thatt was in it: Cain and Abell off Marble on a Mountt in the gardein, which was taken From a Fountaine in the King of Spaines gardein att Valladolid in Castile. Att my beeing there I saw the basis or place wheron itt stood, and then they told mee what beecame off the reste[2].

[1] Compare the description of Whitehall by Sorbière, *c.* 1660 (*Relation d'un Voyage*, pp. 40, 41): "La sale de Witte-hall est un batiment nouveau, que que [*sic*] l'on fit pour les audiences extraordinaires, et pour y festiner les Ambassadeurs ou les deputez du Parlement; c'est pourquoi on la nomme la sale des Banquets. Elle paroist magnifique, parce que tout le reste du Palais est mal bati, et n'est autre chose qu'une confusion de maisons baties en divers temps, et a divers desseins, que l'on a jointes le mieux que l'on a peu [*sic*], pour en faire la demeure de la Cour. Ce qui ne laisse pas de composer une habitation plus commode que le Louvre. Car il y a plus de deux milles chambres; et cela entre un beau parc et une belle riviere: de sorte que pour la promenade et pour les affaires en ville, on se trouve parfaitement bien posté."

Compare also the remarks of Cosmo III, *c.* 1669 (*Travels*, pp. 367, 368): "Whitehall...All its magnificence is confined to the royal saloon....The cieling is richly gilded and decorated with pictures of Rubens which are admirable both in design and execution....The Gallery, formerly enriched by Cardinal Wolsey with choice paintings, which were taken away and sold by Cromwell." An illustration of the Palace as Cosmo saw it faces p. 367.

The Raphael mentioned by Mundy is probably the *Madonna and Child with St John and St Anne*, now known as *La Perla*, since his famous cartoons of *The Acts of the Apostles*, also in the collection of Charles I, were not appraised at their true value at this period. Sir Claude Phillips, *Picture Gallery of Charles I*, 78, states that the first named picture was considered to be the gem of the Royal Gallery, and on the dispersion of the pictures by the Commonwealth realised £2000, or double the price commanded by anything else in the collection. It is now in the Prado gallery of Madrid and is looked upon, not as a genuine Raphael, but a Raphaelesque composition. For further particulars of the pictures acquired by Charles I see *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.; Crowe and Cavalcasalle, *Raphael: His Life and Work*, I. 280 *n.*, 339 *n.*; II. 278 *n.*, 270–1, 478 *n.*; Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphael*, pp. 348 ff.; Walpole, *Cat. and Desc. of King Charles the First's Capital Collection of Pictures &c.*

[2] York House, which occupied the site of the present Villiers Street, Duke Street and Buckingham Street, belonged to the See of York until the time of James I, when it was exchanged with the Crown and was granted to George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham. After the murder of the Duke in 1628, it was occupied by the Spanish Ambassador and

My Lord off Arundells Antiquities.

Likewise my Lord off Arrundells statues and Antiquities procured with such labour and cost[1].

Mr Huberts rarities.

Mr Hubertts rarieties by Charing Crasse [*sic*]. Among the rest the skeleton of a Child, off aboutt 2 Inches long, perffect and hard (Such perhapps and Imposture made use offe when hee shewed a Mandrake)[2]; Allsoe the extreame smalle French writing, Not possibly to bee read withoutt a glasse For thatt purpose, and I thinck Never written withoutt the helpe off

later reverted to the second Duke of Buckingham. See Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. Bray, I. 210; Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, pp. 75, 84.

Mundy spent four months at Valladolid in 1625 (see *ante*, vol. I. pp. 139–141), but he makes no mention in that part of his MS. of the base of the fountain removed to York House. It was probably given to George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, during his visit to Spain, with Prince Charles, in 1623. The statue is mentioned among the "Models" in Walpole's *Cat. of the Collection of Pictures of the Duke of Buckingham* (1524–1608) "now [1757] in York-house garden, or at Chelsea." Mr A. R. Bayley, writing in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 146, p. 218, states that the statue "stood for many years in the gardens of Buckingham Palace, and was presented by George III to the ancestor of the present owner, Sir William Worsley, Bt., of Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire."

[1] Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1586–1646), the "Father of vertu in England," who formed at Arundel House, Strand, the first considerable art collection in England. After his death the collection was dispersed and a portion is now in the British Museum.

[2] Mandrake, properly a plant of the potato family (*Solanaceae*), the mandragora, about which many fanciful legends clustered in ancient and mediaeval times. It was employed for all kinds of enchantment, as it sometimes grows like the lower limbs of mankind. Mr Malcolm Letts has drawn my attention to Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, Bk. II, ch. VI [of Mandrakes], describing the methods of contriving the "imposture" noted by Mundy. The reference in the text is to be found in "A Catalogue of many Natural Rarities with Great Industry, Cost, and thirty Years travel in Foraign Countries, Collected by Robert Hubert, alias Forges, Gent. and sworn Servant to His Majesty. And dayly to be seen at the place called the Musick House, at the Miter, near the West end of St. Pauls Church. London, Printed by Tho. Ratcliffe, for the Author, 1664" [B.M. Pressmark 957. e. 13].

In this *Catalogue* (p. 41) is an entry: "Two very perfect Mandrakes, the one Male and the other Female; both of them did grow in Africa; they are esteemed of women in those parts and are found by accident in the fields by a red flower that the root bears and a long stalk, when it is in perfection." The specimens of minute writing are not separately shown in the *Catalogue*, which is incomplete.

such a glasse[1]. Allsoe some things att Mr Robinsons by Shoreditch. Hee was once a Comedien, Now nott[2].

Allso over the New Exchaunge there is soe much art, Confformity and Curiosity in 4 rowes off shoppes nott yett Finished, thatt I thincke not any place elce whatsoever can shew the like[3].

Lastly, a Marriage in St Faithes church under Paules[4], att which ceremony I Never saw Fewer people, *viz.*, The Contracted parties, the Minister and Clearke with 2 More (wheroff one gave the woman), and my selffe comm by Chaunce. A licence was delivered the Minister, who speedily perfformed his office, and they sodainely [quickly] departed: a businesse quickly don, butt [not] soe easily dissolved againe.

7 things wherin England may bee said to excell.

Now a Few lynes off England in generall, thatt comparing itt with other Countries wee may perceave our owne home happinesse, *viz.*

Imprimis, above all a peaceable and quiett enjoying off Gods true Religion.

[1] A microscope, a simple form of which was well known in Mundy's day.

[2] I have failed to trace this individual.

[3] The New Exchange, erected by Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, was situated on the North side of Durham House, Strand, and was opened for trade on the 10th April 1609.

Sorbière and Cosmo III both describe the building as they saw it some twenty years after Mundy:

"La nouvelle Bource...est sur la grande rue, qu'on nomine le Strangh; et elle contient deux Galeries doubles, l'une sur l'autre, avec huict rangs de boutiques de Merciers. Le Bastiment est de pierre noire, et est bien aussi long que du commencement de la Galerie Dauphine, jusques au bout de celle des Prisonniers. Je vous laisse à penser si l'on trouve la de belle Marchandise, aussi bien que de belles Marchandes" (Sorbière, *Relation d'un Voyage*, p. 35).

"The New Exchange, which is not far from the place of the Common Garden [Covent Garden] in the great street called the Strand. The building is a façade of stone built after the Gothic style, which has lost its colour from age and become blackish. It contains two long and double galleries, one above the other, in which are distributed in several rows, great numbers of very rich shops and drapers and mercers, filled with goods of every kind and with manufactures of the most beautiful description" (Cosmo III, *Travels*, pp. 295–6).

[4] The Eastern part of Old St Paul's incorporated the original parish church of St Faith, which was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666, as Mundy relates in his last Appendix.

Secondly, a temperate ayre and healthy Climate, taken one with another.

Thirdly, our aboundance and plenty off whatt Most usefull For the liffe off Man, especially in these Northerne parts, as Corne, woolle, Flesh, Fish, Tynne, Iron, lead, Seacole, etts., with all which our owne land is not only sufficiently served, butt Many Countries and Nationes Farre and Neare are supplied From us.

Fourthly, our Sciences and discipline For the well ordring off our peace att home and prevention off our enemies abroad, *viz.*, our two Famous universities off Oxfford and Cambridge etts. greatt schooles (Nurseries off learning both divine and humaine) For the Former. Then, For the latter, our well ordred Martiall companies, *viz.*, Trayned band, Artillery gardein, Military yard[1], due and tymely Musters all the land over, with our beacons in convenient places throughoutt the kingdome. This For the shoare. For the Sea: The Kings Navy Royall, with a Number off tall warlike Merchantts shippes, sodainly [immediately] ready For service off their King and Country.

Fifftly, For Trafficke and discoveries, *viz.*, soe many encorporated companies off Merchantts For Forraigne trade[2] who employ their study and Meanes For the Encreas therof by adventuring their goodes and sending Fleetes and shippes into Most parts off the knowne world.

Sixtly, For excellencies off art. Among the rest St Paules great Church For the land and the greatt shippe *Royall Soveraigne* For the Sea[3], Not to bee paralelled in the world beeside, the Former For greattnesse and Cost, the latter, if

[1] Train or trained bands, an outcome of the feudal levy, were mustered annually by commissioners and trained at the expense of the country. They were discontinued in the counties in 1662, but remained in London until 1794 when they were reorganised as the City of London Militia. By the "Artillery gardein" and "Military yard" Mundy probably means the training ground of the Honourable Artillery Company at Finsbury which has been so used since 1641.

[2] The chief trading Companies of Mundy's day were the Russia or Muscovy Company, the Turkey or Levant Company, and the East India Company.

[3] For Mundy's remarks on Old St Paul's see vol. III. p. 16, and for the *Royal Sovereign*, *ante*, in this vol., pp. 35–36 and notes.

not For greatnesse, yett For Cost and ex[q]uisite art in worckmanshippe; Allsoe in Westminster Abby, the like on the rossetts [rosettes, sculptured ornaments] off the Chappell and the Art and Richesse on the Monuments of Marble etts. Costly stones. London Bridge beeffore it was Fired[1]. The Royall Exchange; the pretty contrived confformable shoppes over the Burse or New Exchange[2]. Moore Feilds[3]; Sir Nicholas Caries gardein by London[4]. All these in and aboutt the Citty.

Then Salisburies high and spiry steeple all of hewen stone, 133 yards, or 399 Foote, From the toppe off the Crosse to the ground[5]; the Earle off Pembrokes pretty gardein by Wilton Near Salisbury[6]; Stonehenge by Amesbury; the high square tower att Glocester with the church and whispring place therin[7]; all our Cathedrall Churches in generall, as Salisbury, etts.; Our sweet and artificiall ringuing off tuneable bells[8]. Thus much For the Artificiall.

[1] Mundy is probably referring to the damage done to London Bridge by a fire in 1632. See W. Shaw Sparrow, *A Book of Bridges*, p. 219.

[2] See *ante*, p. 47, for the New Exchange. The Old or Royal Exchange erected on Cornhill by Sir Thomas Gresham, and opened by Queen Elizabeth in 1570, is said by Sorbière (*Relation d'un Voyage*, p. 35) to possess an advantage over the New Exchange in that the four galleries of the older building, with their shops, were above the spot where merchants assembled daily. See also Fiennes, p. 247.

[3] Moorfields was drained in the 16th century and laid out as public pleasure grounds. It was a great place for public entertainment in the 17th century and is frequently mentioned by Pepys.

[4] This garden was probably that attached to Cary House, which, in 1667, had become a house "of entertainment." See Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, p. 463. But, in this case, it could hardly be identical with "Canary House on the East side of Exeter Change...apparently a tavern," as suggested in a footnote to Wheatley's edition of Pepys (VII. 218 *n.*).

[5] The spire is actually 404 ft. high.

[6] The Earls of Pembroke had been in possession of Wilton since the time of Sir Wm. Herbert, to whom it was granted at the Dissolution of monastic lands. Wilton was visited by Cosmo III in 1669 and is thus described (*Travels*, pp. 150–1): "Wilton...the country house of the Earl of Pembroke...the garden from the centre of which flows a river called the Nadder, which passes under a bridge on a level with the ground, and produces trout in abundance...the grotto rough-cast with pumice stone and cockle shells; several fountains that flow in different ways... and the maze park." There is an illustration of the house and grounds facing p. 150. See also Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. Bray, I. 294; Fiennes, pp. 4, 5.

[7] See *ante*, p. 12.

[8] See Appendix V for Mundy's remarks on change-ringing.

Then For Naturall wonders. Mayneambar Stone, 8 Miles From Penrin in Cornewall, which I have More then once Mooved with one hand, waying by computation 11 or 12 tonnes, soe equally is it placed and poized naturally on a lesser[1].

The Hawthorne tree by Glacenbury, Flowrishing in Winter[2].

The hotte and Medicinable springs off water att the Bathe[3].

The incredible sentt off our bloudhounds and hunting dogges, hardly to bee beeleived, were itt nott soe common to bee seene.

The Invincible courage off our Mastives and Fighting Cockes[4], Mayneteyning their duell oftentymes till death.

Off all these former Native blessings, excellencies, etts., my selffe am wittnesse and doe testifie thatt in all places thatt I have yett bin, scarce any one off them can be equalled.

Hee thatt desires to know More of Englands excellencies, let him read Thomas Gainesford, Of the glory of England[5].

By report allsoe, there are Fountaines off Salt water Farre uppe in the land, wherwith they make very white salt; others

[1] Men-Amber, a corruption of Men-an-bar, topstone, is a pile of stones situated in the parish of Stithney. It was once a famous Logan or Rocking Stone and is described by Coulon who saw it before 1650 as "La grande et admirable pierre de Main-Amber, qu'on fait mouvoir avec le doigt, et que plusieurs hommes ensemble ne scauroient oster de sa place" (*Le Fidèle conducteur*, p. 47).

When Mundy returned to Cornwall, after his last voyage to India, he found the "pretious stone...overturned from its basis" and he devotes a paragraph to its memory in his last Appendix. The usual reason given for the overthrow of the stone, by order of Captain Shrubshall, is that it was venerated by the country folk; but Mundy has a different story, namely, that the Governor being told that though a little strength could move the stone, no strength could remove it, determined to prove the falsity of the general belief. For a full description and picture of the stone see Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, pp. 171–2, and see also Brayley and Britten, *Beauties of England and Wales*, II. 457.

[2] See *ante*, p. 5.

[3] See *ante*, p. 7.

[4] Cosmo III went "to see the theatre appropriated to cock fighting, the common amusement of the English," and he has a long description of the sport (*Travels*, pp. 312–313).

[5] Mundy has added this remark in the margin. For the full title of Gainsford's book and for Mundy's extracts from it see vol. I. pp. 27–30, 187 *n*.

thatt convert wood into stone[1]. And if wee make bould with Scottland, there are Ilands in certaine lakes said to Floate and drive to and Fro with the winde with cattle and trees on them[2]. Allsoe a Fowle to breed off trees, growing out off them as Fruite outt off others, which I partly beeleive, having heard itt conffirmed by some; butt it is to bee understood they are such trees as lie within the wash off the sea, a certaine shell Fish growing theron, as oysters on rockes, or barnacles on shippes sides, which in tyme open, the yong Fowle droppe outt, groweth bigger, Flyeth abroad, and by the Country people are called Clawgeese. This requires Farther triall[3].

The Cheiffest end off traveille.

In Conclusion. More to bee enjoyed, More to bee seene at home in [our] owne land (take itt in the generall) then in any one country beesides in the whole world, both For conveniency and delightt[4]. Butt the Almighty hath enordred thatt there should bee mutuall Comerce among all Nationes thatt the one Might participate with the other off such

[1] Mundy is probably referring to the salt-springs of Droitwich in Worcestershire and to the dropping well at Knaresborough in Yorkshire.

[2] Mundy may be alluding to the floating islands on Lake Derwentwater and on Loch Lomond, the former of which appears at intervals in the upper portion of the Lake. See *Folklore*, v. 304–5.

[3] The Bernicle (Barnacle) goose is a species of wild goose (*Anas leucopsis*), allied to the Brent Goose. It was called the Tree Goose, and was formerly believed to be produced out of a fruit growing by the seashore or to be produced from the barnacle shell or engendered in rotting timber. Max Müller traces the origin of this widely-diffused notion of the generation of the barnacle goose to the Irish, who justified eating the bird in Lent because it was really a transformed barnacle or shell-fish. See *Shakespeare's England*, I. 520, 545.

Fynes Moryson (IV. 162) remarks: "The Calfe of Man...aboundeth with...a kind of Duckes engendered of rotten wood, which the English call Barnacles."

In his last Appendix Mundy again refers to "Claegeese" and the popular belief about them. Mr W. L. Sclater has referred me to Swann's *Dict. of English and Folknames of British Birds*, where it is stated that the Bernicle is sometimes called Clakis or Clagis in Scotland. The term must have been in use much further South in Mundy's day.

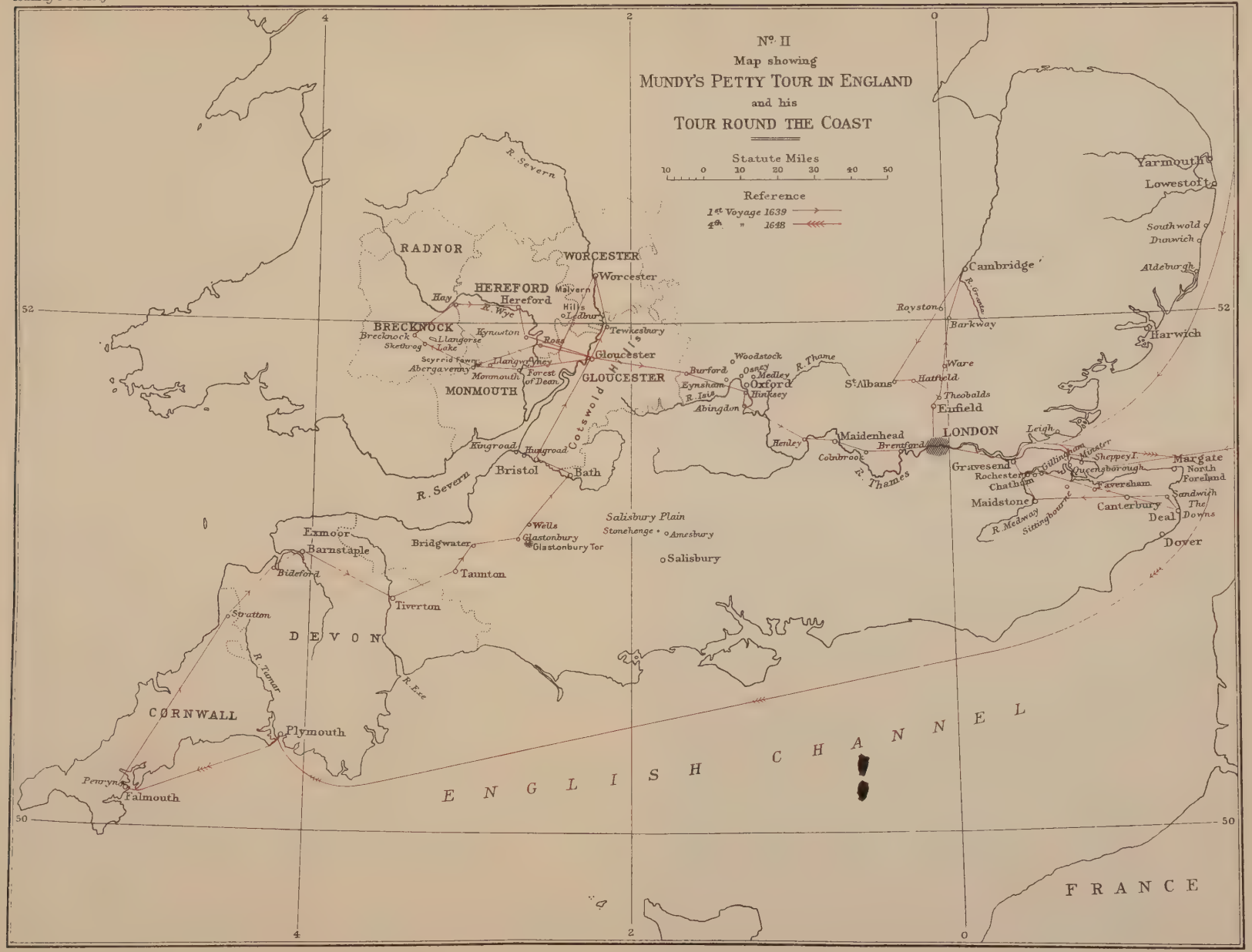
[4] See William Smith, *Desc. of England*, ed. Wheatley, p. 6, for his "Wonders of England," which differ from Mundy's though both mention the hot springs at Bath, the salt pits of Cheshire and Worcester, and St Paul's Cathedral.

blessings which hee hath severally distributed, which is the Cheiffest end off travell by land or Sea.

Computation off Miles gon to and Fro in this progress are, *viz.*

From Penrin to Bristoll by severall journeies in and out	Miles 150
From Bristoll to Glocester	Miles 32
From Glocester to Langroyna in Wales and backe againe	Miles 68
From Glocester to Brecknocke in Wales and backe againe	Miles 120
From Glocester to Oxfford	Miles 48
From Oxfford to London	Miles 47
From London to Cambridge, Sturbridge Faire and backe againe	Miles 90
From London twice to Deale and backe againe	Miles 220
Gon as abovesaid (beesides other petty journeies) the some of	Miles 775[1]

[1] After the publication of vol. 1 of Mundy's travels, Mr Eliot Howard drew my attention to the fact that though Mundy evidently delighted in chronicling the distance travelled, he constantly underestimated the mileage in England. For instance, he always gives the distance from London to Penryn, or Falmouth, as 220 miles, whereas it could scarcely be less than 266 of the present statute miles. The explanation seems to be that he was reckoning by the old English mile of 10 instead of 8 furlongs. But this measurement was by no means absolute, for Seebohm, *Customary Acres*, p. 92, shows that in Cornwall in the 15th century the customary mile was $1\frac{1}{2}$ statute miles. And Wheatley, in his edition of Wm. Smith's *Desc. of England*, has some interesting remarks (Introduction, p. x) on the discrepancies in the length of the English mile in the 17th and 18th centuries. For the varying length of the mile in different countries at the end of the 17th century see also Fiennes, pp. 74, 88, 117, 119, 156, 173.


No. II
Map showing
MUNDY'S PETTY TOUR IN ENGLAND
and his
TOUR ROUND THE COAST
Statute Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
Reference
1st Voyage 1639
4th " 1648
RADNOR
WORCESTER
Worcester
HEREFORD
Hereford
Malvern Hills
Hay
R. Wye
Ledbury
BRECKNOCK
Brecknock
Llangorse Lake
Kynaston
Ross
Tewkesbury
Gloucester
Scyrrid Fawr
Abergavenny
Llangwryney
Monmouth
Forest of Dean
GLOUCESTER
MONMOUTH
Cotswold Hills
Kingroad
Hungroad
Bristol
Bath
R. Severn
Salisbury Plain
Stonehenge
Amesbury
Salisbury
Wells
Glastonbury
Glastonbury Tor
Bridgwater
Taunton
Exmoor
Barnstaple
Bideford
Tiverton
Stratton
DEVON
R. Tamar
R. Exe
CORNWALL
Plymouth
Penryn
Falmouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FRANCE
Woodstock
Burford
Osney
Medley
Oxford
Hinksey
Eynsham
R. Isis
Abingdon
R. Thame
St. Albans
Hatfield
Theobalds
Enfield
Ware
Royston
Barkway
Cambridge
R. Granta
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Southwold
Dunwich
Aldeburgh
Harwich
LONDON
Leigh
Maidenhead
Brentford
Henley
Cobnbrook
R. Thames
Gravesend
Rochester
Chatham
Gillingham
Minster
Sheppey I.
Queensborough
Faversham
Margate
North Foreland
Sandwich
The Downs
Maidstone
R. Medway
Sittingbourne
Canterbury
Deal
Dover
52
50
4
2
0

RELATION XXXII

A PASSAGE FROM ENGLAND OVER INTO HOLLAND, WITH SOME PERTICULARITIES OF THATT COUNTRY, *VIZ.*:

A good oportunity overslipt.

The 16th March 1639 [1639/40]. Beeing bound over For Holland, I determined to have taken my passage For Rotterdam on a smalle Catche[1] wheron wentt some Few passengers, butt Finding another conveyaunce on a bigger shippe, named the *Contentt*[2], to bee gon 2 daies after, I neglected and refused the Former.

The 20th [*March* 1639/40]. I came to Gravesend, having gotten a passe From the Customhouse[3]. Thatt Nightt came the shippe *Contentt*, and here I understood thatt the Catch afforesaid was 2 daies since gon From thence, and by all mens Judgementt by this tyme mightt bee saffely arrived in Hollande, having had extraordinary Faire weather and as good a winde. Itt seemes our shippe was consorted to keepe company with another[4] on which My Lord Craven[5] was to take passage, For whome wee all stayed the Next day, beeing

[1] Catch, ketch, a two-masted vessel of the galiot order, from 100 to 250 tons.

[2] The *Content* of London, Gregory Hiet, master, for Rotterdam, lading in the Port of London, paid Tonnage and Poundage on goods for export on the 7th and 17th of March 1639/40 (*Port Books*, 43/1).

[3] Special passes for foreign travel were granted by the Privy Council, and at this period they often contained special provisoes respecting destination, luggage, &c. It was apparently the duty of the searchers at the outports to enforce the working of passes and licenses. See *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1615–16, p. 565; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639, p. 56.

[4] Probably the *Mary and Hanna*, of London, in port at the same time as the *Content*, transporting two horses "for the Lord Embassador for Holland" (*Port Books*, 43/1).

[5] William Earl of Craven (1606–1697), created Baron Craven of Hamsted Marshall, Berks, 12th March 1627. Being disappointed of high command in the army of Charles I, he re-entered the service of the States which were supporting the claims of the Palatine House. See *Paris Transcripts*, Bundle 73; *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1636–9, p. 580; *S.P. For. Holland*, vol. 156, fols. 31, 37; *Hist. MSS. Comn.*, 12th Rept., App., Pt. II. p. 249.

Saterday, whenas the shippes mightt have bin cleared and wee have proceeded, soe lost thatt day and the Following which was Sonday.

The 23d Marche. Wee sett saile From Gravesend, having here taken in 3 horses into our shippe For the Queen off Bohemia[1], and certaine English Souldiers passing over to serve the States[2].

The 24th ditto. Allthough the winde would well have served to have gon over the Flattes[3], yett I conceave, For som respect to his Lordshipps ease or health, the other shippe putt in For Quinburrow [Queenborough], and wee Followed.

The 26th Marche Anno 1640. His Lordship with one More tooke horse For Margatt, where wee were to com, and by shooting off of a couple of Chambers[4], wee should bee answered within ¼ off an hower with a Fire on the shore if hee were there; otherwise to proceed. Since my coming to Gravesend the winds have bin variable, contrary, much Frost, snow hard; the like seldome seene att this tyme off the year[5].

[1] On the 18th March 1639/40 permission was registered to export from the Port of London, on the *Content*, for Rotterdam, for "The Illustrious princesse the lady Elizabeth queen of Bohemia, his Majestie's onely sister, 3 horses or geldings," exempt from duty, by special letters (*Port Books*, 43/1). Other horses for the Queen had been sent in January on the *Amy* to Gravesend, and the *Allex* for Rotterdam (*ibid.*).

[2] The English companies of soldiers in the service of the United Provinces had been greatly reduced in numbers owing to death, disease, and the inducements offered to them to serve the cause of Charles I against the Scotch. Recruits, however, continued to be raised in England for Holland upon "the general licence" which had been granted by His Majesty. See *S.P. For. Holland*, vol. 155, fols. 134, 275, vol. 156, fols. 31, 37; *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1636–9, p. 556; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1639–40, p. 476; *Venetian Transcripts*, vol. 22, p. 225; *Coke MSS., Hist. MSS. Comn.*, 12th Rept., App., Pt. II. p. 220.

[3] The Kentish Flats, 51° 27′ N. Lat., 1° 7′ E. Long. Brereton (*Travels*, 1634–5, pp. 3–4), having also been obliged to put back to Queenborough when bound to Rotterdam, left that harbour and "came in good time to pass the Flats...where buoys are placed 'twixt which all ships are to sail."

[4] An obsolete term for small pieces of ordnance, without carriage, used to fire salutes.

[5] There are several references to the violence of the winds and the exceptionally heavy rain in the winter of 1639/40, but no mention has been found of a late or abnormal snow-fall. See *Venetian Transcripts* (P.R.O.), vol. 22, pp 202, 210, 213; *Paris Transcripts* (P.R.O.), Bundle 72.

The Towne [Queenborough].

This towne off Quinburrough consists off one smalle streete, accompted auntientt, having a Mayor and certaine priviledges extraordinary[1], somwhatt to bee compared to our towne of Michell [Mount St Michael] in Cornewall, only thatt lives by the land and this by the sea, beeing Most part Fishermen. It lies on the Ile off Shepey.

The Castle.

Quinburrough Castle stands Near the towne, Moated round aboutt with a shallow ditche, alltogether in compasse Near $\frac{1}{6}$th off a Mile, the wall within the Moate aboutt $\frac{1}{8}$th part. The said wall, as allsoe the Fort it selffe (there beeing a spatious greene round aboutt beetwixt them) are off a perffect circular Forme. The Fort or lodge hath 6 large high towers, each off them a little turrett higher then all the rest, Making a goodly prospect, as well the outtside therof From a little distance as the inside From the leades of the Towers, There beeing Many Stores off windowes looking inward to a round open Court, all off a confformable Manner and distance, Ful off lodgings great and smalle, in sundry stories one above the other and round; Many conveyances, passages, etts., by staires, doores, etts.[2] In the Middest of the Court is a well,

[1] Queenborough which was named in honour of Queen Philippa, Edward III's consort, was created a free borough with Mayor and Corporation and two Bailiffs, by Charter of Edward III, 1366. Liberty was also granted for the town to hold two markets weekly and two fairs yearly. In 1369 Queenborough was made a staple of wool. In 1725 Defoe found it "a miserable dirty, decay'd, poor, pitiful, fishing Town; yet vested with Corporation Priviledges" (*Tour through Great Britain*, vol. I. Part II. p. 29).

[2] Queenborough Castle, originally known as the Castle of Sheppey, was rebuilt by Edward III, 1361–7, and repaired by Henry VIII, after which time it was little more than a mansion for its Constable. In 1634 Brereton (*Travels*, p. 2) found "a fine little uniform castle, round built, outside walls and windows in good repair." A year later, the writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213, fol. 351 *a*, thus describes the decay of the town and castle: "Quinborough Queen Philipsburgh...that 20 Mile encompass'd Island [Sheppey], with her ancient little poore Mother-Queen-Major Towne of this kingdome. The ruinated standings of that demolish'd Castle, built by King Edward the 3d, doe still represent what she hath been, whose drooping and Ivy heads, having been govern'd by

by reporte 35 or 40 Fathom deepe (others say More[1]), the water good; butt round aboutt the towne itt is brackish, lying in a low Marsh Full off Creekes and pooles offe Raine water, with which most off the people serve themselves; in winter, some outt off the Castle well by permission of the Custos [custodian].

In Conclusion, itt is a very spatious, stronge, entire and beautifull peece, allthough ancient and abandoned as unusefull in these tymes, serving Now For the Habitation of Multitude off Fowle, as Ravens, Crowes, dawes, pidgeons, stares [starlings], etts., alofft, and gueese, duckes and poultry beneath, aperteyning to the guardian afforesaid. Itt seemes some off the roomes were repaired and dweltt in aboutt 40 yeares since, as wee Mightt perceave by the year off our Lord[2]. Itt were a habitation For a greatt lord, stood itt in a More convenientt place, this beeing all watrish, Marshy, a greatt way round aboutt unserviceable ground.

I wentt to Minster [Minster-in-Sheppey], a towne 2 mile off, where itt seemes was an Abbey in old tyme, which had then the superiority off the Iland in Eclesiasticall Matters, For as yett, all the Churches in itt, beeing 4 More, pay duties to this as Chappells off ease therto[3]. A shippe off 100 tonnes may att a Full sea saile round aboutt the Iland.

no lesse then 20 noble Constables, serve now for no other use but for Sea-marks for Navigators."

In 1649 a Survey of the Castle was ordered by Parliament. It was then "much out of repair, but all the roof was still covered with lead." It was sold shortly after and pulled down, *c.* 1650. See Hasted, *History of Kent*, II. 655; Cruttwell, *Tour through Great Britain*, II. 42; Grose, *Antiquities, Kent*, vol. II.

[1] The depth of the well is 271 feet.

[2] Mundy seems to be alluding to a date which he saw on a restored portion of the building.

[3] Minster Abbey, of which only a portion of the conventual church and gatehouse now remain, was founded by Sexburga, widow of Ercomberht, King of Kent, in the 7th century. The building was destroyed by the Danes in 1030 and rebuilt by William de Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the 12th century.

By an *Inspeximus* and confirmation, dated 3rd April 1400, to the prioress and convent of SS. Mary and Sexburga, Sheppey, it appears that they held appropriated the parish churches of Minster-in-Sheppey and Bobbing with their chapels and Gillingham with the "chapel of Grean" (Isle of Grain). See *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1 Henry IV, p. 340.

Making of Coperas.

By Quinburrow is a house where Copperas is Made (att the charge off some London Merchantts) outt off old Iron boiled in a certaine licor which drayneth From a kind off earth or shelffe broughtt From the sea side, having thatt property to consume Iron thatt is boiled in itt. The hott licor is powred into Cisternes, which beeing cold, there adheres to the side off the said vessele, or to boughes hung in itt off purpose, a certaine greene stuffe which is the Copperas. Itt is afterwards putt into Caske and transported[1].

Here wee understood how the Dunkerckers had intercepted the Earle of Malbrow and another Man off quality[2]. The Earle was said to passe over For certaine vessells which he had boughtt in Holland, wherof one was a galleon off Naples aperteyning once to the Spaniard and lost in the last Confflict before Dover[3], which Makes us doubtfull wee shall bee much troubled if Mett withall, especially carrying soccours to the enemy.

From hence and Feversham and [*sic*, ? are] greatt store

[1] Matthias Falconer, a Brabanter, was the first to turn to account the iron pyrites, found in large quantities in Sheppey and on the Essex shore, by setting up at Queenborough, in 1579, a factory for the manufacture of brimstone and copperas, the first established in England. The manufacture, still extant in 1866, is no longer carried on there. Brereton (*Travels*, pp. 2, 3) fully describes the process used in 1634. See Pennant's *Journey from London to the Isle of Wight*, I. 79.

[2] The inhabitants of Dunkirk at this date subsisted by privateering. Brereton (*Travels*, p. 4) remarks: "But there was another [ship], which seemed towards evening to cross us, and which the master feared had been a Dunkirker (who had taken a ship lately wherein Mr Thatcher, a merchant, a passenger, had some goods), but he passed by, and made no attempt at all." Brereton's editor notes that since the inhabitants troubled little as to the nation whose vessels they attacked, the town of Dunkirk was little better than a nest of pirates. At the date of Mundy's voyage Dunkirk was under Spanish sovereignty. It was taken by France for the first time in 1646.

[3] James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, a naval captain, who succeeded to the title in 1638. No reference to his movements at this date has been found. The galleon referred to may possibly be that of Don Antonio de Oquendo. After the fight between the Dutch and Spaniards inside the Downs off Dover, in October 1639, this ship was unable to enter the port of Dunkirk, which was not deep enough, and was consequently abandoned by the commander to the discretion of the enemy, after he had dismantled it. See *Cal. S.P. Venetian*, 1636–9, No. 724.

off greatt Kentish oysters transported to London, the Low Countries etts.

Putt to Sea: beat backe againe.

The 28th off Marche [1640]. Wee sett to sea, and thatt evening wee anchored att the boy [buoy] of the red sands[1], butt the winds lessning and the tide increasing, wee putt nott through For thatt tyme. Beeffore Morning the winde came contrary with such vehemency thatt itt grew More and More to a Storme, Soe thatt wee returned, thincking to putt in For Quinburrow againe. Butt our Mayne corse [mainsail] nott beeing outt For 2 reasons, the one our vessell was not thoughtt able to bear itt, the other our Men not thoughtt able to hand itt, and soe by this Meanes wee were not able to Fetch the place, butt were Forced to Anchor shortt off itt. Our Consort passed by us and to our seeing putt in For Quinburrow.

In Daunger of Shippewracke with losse off lives and goods.

Wee had not Rode long ere our cable brake a sunder. Wee lett Fall another Anchor, and by and by shee strucke with her keele on the sands in a violentt manner, [and] so continued beating [there], and wee expecting when shee would have splitt in sunder and suncke; then had there bin butt little hope off saving our lives, itt beeing Near 1½ Miles From the shoare, extreame Foule cold weather, a deep hollow short sea. No small boat able to brooke itt, Neither was ours Capable off ¼ off our company, wee beeing Near aboutt 60 persons. Butt itt pleased God to deliver us outt off this daunger by the Flowing off the water. Had itt Fallen away, wee had surely perished. Our shipp beeing strong and New was Nott much the worse, Allthough by the Masters owne confession, who was allsoe Master off a vessell cast away aboutt 3 Monthes [since], the said shippe strucke not halffe as Much as this erre shee brake all to peeces. Wee thincking

[1] The Red Sand, 51° 29′ N. Lat., 1° 02′ E. Long., a bank forming the continuation of the Shivering Sand to the S.W. See *Index Nauticus* (British Isles), p. 892.

itt nott saffe to abide here another low water, Cutt our other cable in the hause, our men not able to wey [weigh] itt.

Another greatt daunger.

Neer uppon Full sea sett saile, steering towards the shoare over sundry Flattes and shoulds att all adventures [at random]; no man knowing the ground, the keele of the shippe very Neare itt Many tymes. Here the Master wrung his hands againe, lamenting his hard happe, this 2d daunger as greatt as the Former, For if shee had bin strucke with thatt Fresh way and a hollow sea, the water now ebbing, there had bin little hope off us. Butt God be praised, who delivered us allsoe this 2d tyme. Att last wee putt in to Feversham att the other Mouth thatt Maketh Shepey an Iland.

The 4th off Aprill 1640. Wee sett Forth From Feversham and with the helpe off a pilate wee came to the North Forland.

A 3d daunger.

The 5th off Aprill. In the Afternoone wee putt over For the Coast off Holland, and sayling all thatt Nightt with a Faire winde, Next Morning, the 6th, wee Found our selves by sounding to bee among shelves and shoalds to 5, 6 and 7 Fathom water, as wee thought on the banckes offe Flanders, the Morning prooving soe dusky, hazy and Misty thatt wee could not discerne Farre From us, otherwise wee made accompt to have seene the land; soe putt to seaward againe, and then in againe, and thus sundry tymes, Not knowing where wee were; only by sounding, wee Found our selves againe in daunger, having shoalds within and bancks withoutt. Att last the Mist brake uppe and wee saw the land Faire by, with steeples, butt amongst us all No man knew whatt to Make off itt. Some said it was Ostende in Flaunders, others thatt itt was Gouree [Goeree] in Holland, near the Maze [Maas], 2 places 20 leagues asunder.

Another daunger doubted.

So resolved to take to Sea againe, doubting wee Mightt here bee surprized, pillaged, hindred and stayed by Dun-

kerkers, wee beeing on their owne coaste. Beeing in this resolution, wee saw 2 smalle saile Make towards us, who were English thatt came over to transport plaice etts. [and other] Fresh Fish From hence. They told us where wee were, and thatt the steeple wee saw was Westcapell [Westkapelle] on Walkerne [Walcheren], which was No smalle comffortt to us all, seeing our selves like to have undergon More trouble yett, all hitherto passed daungers, etts., occasioned through the wantt of yeares, experience and Commaund off our Master, with the perverse Ignorance off his Mate who presumed to bee pilate; who, Notwithstanding thatt hee was advised off the distance to Gouree, and wished by the Master and company to Anchor beetyme, yett, as hee would doe it off purpose [have his own way], wee were Near 4 or 5 Miles overshott beeffore wee anchored.

Another daunger escaped.

The 7th off Aprill [1640]. In the Morning wee went to worcke to recover that oversightt, butt labouring and dispayring to gett in to the Brill [Brielle, De Briell], beeing Now att the very Mouth off the haven. The winde increased in such a Manner now against us thatt wee now once againe thoughtt our selves in as bad a case as ever, Fearing to bee driven off the Coast by the violence, either to Sea or elce [where]. Butt God allsoe sentt a remedy to this, For there came a pilate boatte aboard us, which untill Now None came Near us, allthough wee Made all signes usuall, by reason thatt sometymes they have bin beetraied by Dunkerkers.

Outt off the said boate wee had a Pilate thatt brought us into the Brill, one off the Cautionary townes delivered unto Queene Elizabeth[1].

The 7th Aprill [1640]. Att Nightt there was so much winde thatt the house wherin wee were, trembled and shooke as

[1] The Brill (Brielle), Flushing and Rammekens were given to Queen Elizabeth in 1585 by the Dutch as security for repayment of her assistance in their struggle with Spain. They were restored to the Dutch Republic by James I in 1616. See *Cal. S.P. For.*, 1585–6, p. 702; *Acts of the Privy Council, Cal.*, 1615–16, pp. 545–8; Montague, *Pol. Hist. of Eng.*, VII. 78.

with an Earth quake, soe thatt had nott wee Mett with thatt pilate and gotte in as wee did, wee had undoubtedly bin blowen off the shoare, and the Lord knowes whatt would beecome off us.

A Caveatte [admonition, warning].

I have the More perticulerized this passage For 2 reasons, *viz.*,

The First thatt itt may appeare whatt inconveniencies sometymes ensue by overslipping good oportunityes, which I have offten Felt, some not soe soone Forgotten. Among the rest, this: That had I kept my First resolution, I had avoided all the daungers and troubles afforementioned, beeside expence and ill accomodation, the shippe beeing Full off souldiers and pestred [encumbered] with woolsackes, and contrariwise had had a pleasaunt and speedy passage.

The second is thatt I have undergon in these 15 daies 5 tymes More hazards off loosing liffe and all, in comming butt aboutt 45 leagues, then I have don this 25 yeares in sayling above 25,000 leagues to and Fro. These are the Chaunces off the world[1].

The 8th [*April* 1640]. I departed From the Brill towards Rotterdam. By the way wee passed by sundry townes, *viz.*, Scluise on the Maze, Vlaerdin (by report the Auntienst towne in Holland), Delfftshaven, Scheedam[2], and soe to Rotterdam.

Rotterdam.

This is a place off Much shipping and Trade; Many

[1] Mundy has a marginal note here: "A greatt Alteration."

[2] Maasluis, Vlaardingen, Schiedam, Delftshaven. Mundy has reversed the order of the last two.

Vlaardingen (capital of the County of Holland, conquered by the Emperor Henry III in the 11th century) was reckoned by Martin Zeiler, in 1639, amongst the most important market-places of Holland and "held to be the oldest place" among them; "in old times the strongest in the whole of Holland, now-a-days but a small village." M. Zeiler, *Itin. contin.*, p. 481.

Montague, *Delights of Holland* (1696), says that "Vlaerdingen...is call'd the Oldest, Boldest, Wisest, and was the Richest in ancient Times [of the towns in Holland]."

English dwellers here and use our owne Countrey habitt[1]. Here on the [Groote Markt] stands the statue off Erasmus Rotterdamus, excellently well cast in Brasse[2].

The 10th off Aprill [1640]. I went in a schuite[3] or boate towards the Haghe, off which boattes, by the day, there goes one every hower From Rotterdam to Delffte, att 3 stivers[4] per man. Att Delfft wee landed, and passing through the towne, wee tooke boate againe on the other side, the which From hence to the Haghe doe part every halffe hower att 2 stivers per Man. These boates sett away precisely att the sound off a little bell, whither they have fraight or Noe[5], drawne by one horse each, which goe a good round trotte aboutt 3 Mile an hower, and soe much for 1 stiver: very cheape travelling and easy, by water, through the Channells which are cast uppe by hand, and Filled For the Most part with the water drawne From the lower grounds by windmills, wherof there are very Many, each sending as Much water as would make a pretty brooke continually in to those Channells, which are in some places 6 or 7 Foote higher then the Marsh itt selffe. This they doe to Free itt From water,

[1] Thomas Bowrey, who visited the city in 1698 and describes it, mentions the Scotch quarter of Rotterdam "Inhabited mostly by Scotch." He also mentions "One English Church" and "One Scotch Church" (*Bowrey MS. Papers, Hague Diary*).

[2] The bronze statue of Erasmus of Rotterdam (Gerrit Gerritsz), 1467–1536, by Hendrik de Keyser, was erected in 1622. The statue seen by Fynes Moryson in 1593 was of wood "for the Spaniards brake down that which was made of stone" (*Itinerary*, I. 101).

Robert Bargrave, who was at Rotterdam in March 1652/3, describes it (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 94) as "a faire walld City, commodious for trade in respect of the largeness of the Place and the gallant Haven in it. What I see of note was only theyr great Church, and the fam'd Erasmus Statue, as also the house wherein he was borne...." See also De Blainville, *Travels*, 1743–5, I. 5, 6.

[3] Dutch *schuit*, a flat-bottomed river-boat.

[4] Stiver, Du. *stuiver*, worth about one penny in English money. See the table of coins at the end of this Relation.

[5] Compare Moryson (*Itinerary*, III. 469), *c.* 1610: "Every day and at a set hower, the Boates must goe away with those passengers they have, and may not stay for more."

In 1698 the "Track Skute" still plied every hour between Rotterdam and Delft, and Bowrey (*Bowrey MS. Papers, Hague Diary*) paid 5 stivers for the journey, but he says nothing about changing boats. See also Brereton, *Travels*, p. 52.

which other wise would ly drowned and overfflowen, having sluces againe to disburthen the said Channells in to the River or Sea when there is overmuch water in them. Thus hereabouts.

Delphe: a Fine towne; a Nett [market] place or piazza.

Delphe is a privatte[1] butt very nett [clean] towne, the prettiest place or piazza that I have yett seene[2], the Faire townehouse att [one] end, and att the other the Church and loffty steeple[3]. The rest, with Faire unifforme buildings, is enclosed. In the said Church is a very costly Monumentt, partly off brasse, partly off Marble, off excellentt Worckmanshippe, where ly enterred the Bodies off old Grave William[4], Grave Maurice, etts.[5]

The Haege.

The Haghe or s'Gravenhaege is the place where the Prince keepes his Courtt. Nere the Princes pallace are Many stately ediffices, butt Most part off the rest of the Citty Not soe handsom Nor cleanly as Delphe or Rotterdam.

From the Harghe [*sic*] I returned thatt evening to Rotterdam, our shippe beeing com uppe butt thatt day From the

[1] By private, Mundy means not a seat of government.

[2] Piazza is used in the sense of a covered market-place. Montague (*Delights of Holland* (1696), p. 16) in his description of Rotterdam says that there was an Exchange there "but no noble Piazza's to secure 'em [the merchants] from the Weather, as at London."

[3] The Nieuwe Kirk, formerly the Church of St Ursule, in the Groote Markt. The tower is 375 ft. high.

"Delph, which consists only of one faire long street, by which is a large Church" (Bargrave, *MS. Rawl.* C. 799, f. 94). "The Piazza or market-place [at Delft] is a very fair one, having the front of the Town house at one end of it, and the high Steeple of the new Church at the other" (Edward Browne, *Travels* (1668), p. 90).

[4] The monument, begun by Hendrik de Keyser in 1616, and finished by his son Peter, to the memory of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, is of marble and bronze. It replaced the one Moryson (*Itinerary*, I. 99) describes as "the poorest that ever I saw for such a person, being only of rough stones and morter, with posts of wood, coloured over with black, and very little erected from the ground." See De Blainville, I. 7, 8 for a full description of the tomb as he saw it, *c.* 1743.

[5] Prince Maurice, 1567–1625. The wife of William of Orange seems to be represented by Mundy's "etts."

The last few words of this paragraph, beginning at "off," are added in pencil.

Brill, having undergon 2 hazards More in her way. And to bee noted thatt From the tyme shee sett saile From London till shee arrived att Rotterdam, there hath bin such 3 weekes off straunge weather, off Frost, Snow, Sleete, Rayne, Stormy variable windes, As the like by report hath nott bin seene by any Man living att this tyme off the Yeere[1].

The 13th off Aprill 1640. I Tooke passage For Amsterdam by boate allsoe, which is the ordinary course off travelling, and indeed is the speediest, easiest and cheapest thatt I know elce where, and is accompted 15 houres going, [and] is so many English leagues Neare hand. Butt a Dutch Mile is 4 English Mile, For 15 Dutch Mile make one degree, which is 20 leagues or 60 Miles English[2].

Much low and drowned land beetweene Rotterdam and Amsterdam.

By the way, our boatte and lading was with a Capstan drawne over Roulers outt off one water into another[3], the latter lowermost by ½ a Foote, the other Not lett run into itt For overfflowing the lower ground. In all the way nott a towne off any quallity, the ground generally all low and Marish.

How turffe is Made and how ser[v]iceable itt is.

Much off itt att presentt overfflowen with water, and some off itt all the year long, where with little boates they dredge For the slyme or Mudde in the bottom, which is putt to drayne and dry in beds, and beeing somwhatt hardned, is cutt in square peeces and soe lett dry till itt bee Fitt For use[4].

[1] See *ante*, n. 5 on p. 54.

[2] The old Nederland *mijl* in Mundy's time was 20,000 Rhenish feet or 6278·93 metres, *i.e.* somewhat under four ordinary English or London miles.

[3] Between Amsterdam and Haarlem Moryson (1. 94) came to a "damme, shutting out the flowing of the sea....Our boat was lifted over this damme by ropes, and so let fall into the water on the other side, for which the Mariners paid tribute."

[4] Turf, *i.e.* peat, was to Holland what coal is to England. In 1639 Sir Thomas Culpeper bought two ships in Holland to "lade and carry turfe" to London (*S.P. For. Holland*, vol. 155, f. 244). De Blainville (1. 44) remarks on the use of turf in Amsterdam: "These Turfs or Peats consists of a viscous Substance, dug out of the fenny or marchy Grounds,

Itt is very good Fewell, and there with they Make a very handsome Fire, pilying off them hollow, piramidewise. They burne very Sweet and Cleare, cast a quick heatt, Make a good cole [ash, cinder], and are very serviceable and Cheape.

The 14th [*April* 1640]. In the Morning wee came to Amsterdam, and there I tooke a lodging in the Newmarkett [Nieuw Markt].

Harleim.

Within few daies I wentt to Harlem [?] miles distantt[1], aboutt which is some rising ground, many pretty groves and woodes, Faire long rancks of Trees with pleasauntt walkes betweene, allso Nurseries off smalle trees, For From hence, they say, Amsterdam and divers other places are supplied with them to Furnish their streetes. A little beyond the towne are certaine Sandhills called dounes, where breed store of Cunnies, off which many are brought to Amsterdam, etts.

Muiden and Wesop [Weesp].

Not long after I went, in company off a good Freind, To Muiden and Wesop. By the First is a pleasant Castle-like Mannour [mansion], now somwhatt Neglected, though in Former tymes said to bee the habitation off the Earles of Holland, a very delightsome seat, standing on a little rising, with pretty groves and walkes round aboutt[2]. From Wesop

called in Dutch *Veenen* [turf-moors]; that after digging them, they are exposed to the Sun and Wind to dry and harden them: that they are cut into square Pieces and transported over all the United Provinces in Barks made on purpose: and that they are so full of Sulphur and bituminous Matter, that all who sit in winter round a great Peat-fire, appear pale and livid like ghosts."

[1] There is a blank in the MS. here. Bargrave, who went by water from Amsterdam to Haarlem, gives the distance as six miles (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, f. 93), and Moryson (I. 94) as three.

[2] Dietrich, son of Gerolphus (appointed Frisian Count in 885), was the first of the Counts in the old Batavia, later called Holland, and was the founder of the line of the Counts of Holland, endowed by Charles the Simple of France in 913 (see M. Zeiler, *Itinerarii Germ. continuatio*, p. 239). In 1571 the old County of Holland (which comprised approximately the territory of the two present provinces of North and South Holland), having shaken off the Spanish yoke, joined the six other Northern provinces to form the republic of the United Provinces.

The Castle of Muiden was built *c.* 1290 by Count Floris V. Earthworks were added in 1576. In 1609 the States appointed Pieter Cornelie-

is their water broughtt wherewith they brew their beere (att Amsterdam) in greatt lighters, laden in hold withoutt caske, For att Amsterdam their best water is whatt they save From the Raine, there beeing little offence in wett weather by water thatt should Fall by spoutts or gutters From their houses, For it is all conveyed From thence by leaden pipes in to certaine Cisternes below, off which scarce any house butt hath one[1].

Scarcity of good water: foundation of houses.

Rivers, Fountaines off good Water very scarce in this part off the Country, by reason off the Marshy lownesse and Muddinesse off the soile, For att Amsterdam att the building off a house they Must drive in certaine timbers or Masts 42 or 43 Foote deepe beeffore they Meet with any Fast ground, which is a sand att last, on which is laid the Foundation. These tymbers are said to continue hundreds off yeares sound, as long as they ly in the Moist earth From the Ayre. They are Forced in by a certaine engine, beeing a greatt waightt, whereunto is Fastned a Maine rope, and unto that againe aboutt 40 other smaller, there beeing soe many severall Men which pull att them in the same Manner and with the same Action, as sometimes Many Men doe at the Ringuing of some greatt bell. The waight, by the helpe off a large pully, is Forced uppe, and with his Fall driveth the piles till they Meet with the Sand, as afforesaid. Allsoe I have seene a whole house off bricke, etts., sundry stories high, standing

zoon Hooft "Drost" of Muiden, Castellan of the house of Muiden, &c. The castle was then in a ruinous condition and was further damaged by the great storm of the year 1612. During Hooft's government large sums were spent on restoration and improvements, especially in 1630–1. A contemporary picture shows the castle protected by high trees on the seaward side and bordered by gardens and orchard on the landward side. See J. Koning, *Geschiedenis van het slot te Muiden.*

[1] Compare Brereton (*Travels in Holland*, 1634–5, p. 66): "Here no fresh-water, no water to brew withal, but what is fetched from Weesoppe, six English miles distant. Hence they have much beere....No water to wash withal but rain-water preserved in rain-bags [backs, rainwater-tubs]." It was not until the middle of the 19th century that a company was formed to supply Amsterdam with pure water. See *General View of the Netherlands*, No. IX, p. 52.

alltogether uppon screwes[1], as on stilts, the Foundation beeing cleane taken away. With these, by report, they will remove large buildings From one place to another. Also sundry other engenious devices with which they abound, as wind sawing Mills, windmills For dreyning off water, etts., the yong Following the old[2], as by Many pretty windmills and shippes, etts., to goe and saile with the wind, wanting only greatnesse.

A supposition with itts reason.

Amsterdam itt selffe may conteyne Near hallffe as Many people as London with Westminster, Stepney, etts., by this Following reason. In London, etts., aforesaid, there dy usually aboutt 200 or 210 persons per weeke, and in this Citty there dy ordinarily aboutt 100 and 110 weekly, outt off the tyme of any extraordinary sicknesse[3]. Butt itt may bee alleadged thatt the Multitude off strangers in shipping there may encrease thatt Number.

Burialles.

Their dead are buried beetweene the howers of one and 3 in the affternoone (under penalty or Fine For the contrary)[4], very decently accompanied by their Freinds in Mourning cloakes (with which No housekeeper scarce butt is provided

[1] Mundy means screw-piles. The earliest quotation for the term in the *O.E.D.* is 1840.

[2] Mundy seems to mean that the "engenious devices" were copied in miniature for the benefit of children.

[3] According to the *Table of Burials...in London*, given by John Graunt, F.R.S. (*Natural and Political Observations...made upon the Bills of Mortality*, p. 116), the average number of burials per week in London for the years 1625–1628 was 198, and the average number of burials in Amsterdam (*op. cit.*, p. 107) for 1625–1628 was 90. The population of London, *c.* 1660, is given by Graunt (*op. cit.*, p. 59) as 460,000, so the population of Amsterdam should be about 230,000, but it is impossible to verify these figures as the city was subject to great fluctuations of population. In 1622 it numbered 100,000, but the wars with England so greatly affected trade, that in 1653 nearly 4000 houses were uninhabited. See Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexikon* (ed. 1851).

[4] The hour for burials was regulated by by-laws which could be evaded on payment of a fine varying in proportion to the departure from the appointed time. See N. de Roever, *Uit onze oude Amstelstad*, 2 Bundel, pp. 78, 79.

For thatt purpose). These follow the Coarse by 2 and 2, which is broughtt to the Church, and withoutt Farther ceremony putt in to the ground. Soe they returne all in the same Manner. No weomen accompany their burialls[1]. Their ringuing conffused as in Spaine (which I wonder att, beeing soe curious [ingenious] and punctuall in all things elce), butt they have excellent Chimes, which goe beeffore the quarters, halffe howers and whole[2]. Att ½ hower past Nine, etts., there is a smaller clocke or bell strikes 10, which in their phrase is termed hallfe 10, and soe For 11 or 12, etts.

[Amsterdam]: Churches.

This Citty is nott divided in to parishes as with us, butt every one goes to whatt Church hee pleases, there beeing only 8 or 9 publicke Churches[3] beesides the English, French, Lutherans, Anabaptists, etts., and Jewish Sinagogues. In the afforesaid Churches are certain preachers appointed. Not many eclesiasticall orders nor much ceremony in their service, like the French Church by the exchange in London[4]. Organs they have in some of them, butt are nott played till the people depart, soe thatt itt seemes they serve to blowe [play] them outt off Church, as their is such a phrase used off those wee call puritaines[5]; these beeing No other as I conceave. Few holidaies observed, Christmas, Easter, Whitsontide and Sondaies excepted; the latter butt badly kept. A Tolleration here off all sects [of] religion.

[1] Compare Brereton, p. 35: "Their women never come to church with their corpse, save only their men, who march in ranks in good order, two and two together."

[2] Bowrey (1698) says that the chimes "consist of 35 Bells well Tuned, the Bigest bell at least 5 foot over" (*Bowrey Papers, Hague Diary*).

[3] Here is a marginal note: "The old church" (Oude Kerk, S. Nicolaes).

[4] The French Protestants or Walloons obtained during the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Chapel of St Mary, forming part of the dissolved St Anthony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street, exactly opposite Finch Lane. St Anthony's was burnt in the Great Fire, and the Church was subsequently rebuilt by the French Protestants. It was taken down in 1842. See Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I. Pt. I. p. 175; Besant, *Survey of London*, pp. 423, 426; *Mediaeval London*, II. 268–9.

[5] I have failed to trace the saying to which Mundy alludes.

The Westerkerke.

Of the Churches afforesaid, thatt Now building is the Neatest, The steeple of 300 Foote high, att 11 inches per Foote, is 91⅔ yards English. In it a bell off 16ᑌ000[1] waight[2]. Allthough the one bee the highest and the other the greatest in the Citty, yett is the First not the sightliest, Nor the latter the best sounded.

A Farre and a Faire prospect.

From the toppe off the said tower att the greatt Crowne is a Farre prospect (Utrecht and Leyden in sight, the one [blank] miles and the other [blank] Miles distant, with other townes), and as Faire and delightsome Near hand as I Never saw the like For a Citty; Most off the Cheiffe streets and Channells lying there aboutts and From alofft open to our view, as the Zingle, Heregraught, Princes grafft, Keisers grafft[3], etts. (where Many off great dealing Merchanntts dwell), beesides pretty gardeins: the Channells [and] streets soe long, soe straightt; the buildings soe faire and unifforme; rancks off trees on each side off the Channell beeffore their doores off the same sort (generally) and in the same Manner

[1] Various methods were used in the Middle Ages to denote thousands or to divide large figures into thousands for clearness of reading. One device was to separate every hundred by a stroke above, and every thousand by a stroke below, another, to separate groups of three figures by arcs above them. There was also in Italy, in the 14th century, a sign used for 1000 somewhat resembling the Roman numeral M. (See Friedlein, *Die Zahlzeichen und das elementare Rechnen der Griechen u. Römer und des christlichen Abendlandes vom 7. bis 13. Jahrhundert*; and Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, vol. 1; also Zanino Volta, *Delle Abbreviature nella Paleografia Latina*.) None, however, of the signs noted above gives the origin of the peculiar mark used by Mundy. See vol. III. p. 140 *n*.

[2] The Wester-Kirke on the Keizers- and the Prinsen-gracht, begun in 1620, was first used in 1631. The tower, the highest in Amsterdam, was completed in 1638. Von Zesen remarks that, "amongst others," it contained "a bell 16,000 lbs. in weight, which strikes the hours," and also a carillon. See Bredius, *Amsterdam in de* XVIIe *eeuw* (G.B.), p. 143; P. von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, pp. 360–1.

[3] The Singelgracht, a canal 6½ miles long, separates the old town from the new. The Heerengracht, Prinsengracht, and Keizersgracht are the chief concentric canals within the city.

Bowrey (1698) dined with "Mr Facet on the Keysers Graft" (*Bowrey MS. Papers, Hague Diary*).

as Moore Feilds in London, soe thatt they seeme pleasant walkes rather then citty streets; the rest throughoutt somewhatt suteable [in accordance].

Jewes.

There are allsoe sundry dry streetes, as Warmor strate [Warmoes-Straat], Newindike [Nieuwendijk], Calvart strate [Kalver-Straat], Joode strate [Jodenbree-Straat] or Jewes streete, beecause they dwell there, the 3 Former Full off shoppes, tradesmen, Artifficers; The latter, though the least, yett the Fairest; The Jewes either all, or Most, Portugalls, Ritch Merchantts[1], nott evill esteemed off, living in liberty, wealth and ease; the Men swart and thereby knowen From others: Not by their habitt; The weomen accompted to surpasse the Natives. They allow Pictures in their houses (Not soe att Constantinople), yea, some off them Painters.

Painting and pictures.

As For the art off Painting and the affection off the people to Pictures, I thincke none other goe beeyond them, there having bin in this Country Many excellent Men in thatt Facullty, some att presentt, as Rimbrantt[2], etts, All in generall striving to adorne their houses, especially the outer or street roome, with costly peeces, Butchers and bakers not much inferiour in their shoppes, which are Fairely sett Forth, yea many tymes blacksmithes, Coblers, etts., will have some picture or other by their Forge and in their stalle. Such is the generall Notion, enclination and delight that these Countrie Native[s] have to Paintings[3]. Allsoe their other

[1] Bowrey (1698) remarks on the "Two Jews Synagogues" at Amsterdam, the larger "a Spacious brick building with Schools adjoining" being "for the Spanish and Portugall Jews...esteemed the Men of most substance." Bowrey also says that the Jews were only permitted to live in the East part of the City (*Bowrey MS. Papers, Hague Diary*). In 1638 Brereton (p. 60) estimated that there were "about three hundred families seated in this town, most Portugals." He adds: "A street they have called the Jews' street: they have 3 synagogues here." See also Montague, *Delights of Holland*, p. 146. [2] Rembrandt van Rijn, 1607–1669.

[3] Mundy has a marginal note here: "The affection of the people therto As Allso to the curious adorning and cleanly keeping of their houses, streets, etts."

Horatio Busino, chaplain to the Venetian Ambassador Extraordinary

Furniture and Ornamentts off their dwellings very Costly and Curious, Full off pleasure and home contentment, as Ritche Cupboards, Cabinetts, etts., Imagery, porcelaine, Costly Fine cages with birds, etts.; all these commonly in any house off indifferent quallity; wonderfull Nett and cleane, as well in their houses and Furniture, service, etts. within doores, as in their streetes. Few Cartts or sleads used; all great quantities off Commodities broughtt by water in lighters to their warehouse doores.

Shipping and Trafficke.

For their shipping, trafficke and Commerce by sea, I conceave No place in the world comes Near itt, There beeing att once come into the Texell att my beeing there 26 shippes, *viz.*, From E. India 8, From W. India 9, and 9 From Guiney, etts. Att the E. India house, over the warehouse doore is one off those greatt shells which I have described in Folio 133[1],

to the Court of James I, 1617–18, gives the following interesting description of the streets and houses at Amsterdam, as he saw them in October 1617. "The streets are very handsome, wide and clean, and adorned on either side with shops inhabited by artificers of every description: the houses are very handsome, but of middling size, extremely decorated within, without tapestry, the furniture being such as already described, namely, fine pictures, porcelain, carvings, and moreover, cages filled with birds and parrots." *Venetian Transcripts*, vol. 142, p. 35. I am indebted to Mr Malcolm Letts for drawing my attention to Busino's narrative, and I regret that space does not allow me to reproduce the whole of his delightful description of the City.

[1] In 1603 the Old Town Arsenal or "Bushuis" of Amsterdam (built 1554–1558) at the corner of the Hoogstraat and the Klovienerburgwall was let by the Town to the East India Company and, with large subsequent additions, formed their headquarters. It was demolished about 1890.

Bargrave (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, f. 92) speaks of the East India House in 1652 as "a stately building, most wonderfully lind at all times (and specially now) with all Sorts of Spices." Busino, who saw the building in 1617, describes it as a huge fabric divided into many chambers, on sundry low platforms, with gallery all round, and these chambers are generally filled with precious produce from the Indies" (*Venetian Transcripts*, vol. 142, p. 36).

See also Olearius, Lib. III. p. 285; De Blainville, *Travels*, I. 38; Bredius, *op. cit.* (G.B.), 93, (B.) 24.

For Mundy's remarks on "greatt shells" (*Tridacna gigas*), such as he saw over a door at the East India House, see vol. III. p. 145 and note.

And att the West India house an Elephantts skull, off which I have allsoe writte in Folio 158[1].

Wantts and inconveniences suplied and amended.

The number off other shippes which perpetually Ebbe and Flow to this Citty, etts., is incredible, By which meanes, as by their Industry and labour, they have made off this land, which naturally off itt selffe is unproffitable and unuseffull For Man or beast, And, as some say, where all the Foure elementts are corrupted, *viz.*, the Earth Marshy, Muddy; the water brackish, stincking (I mean their wells); in some places the Aire participates off both by his vicinity; and For Fire, their Cheiffest Fewell beeing turffe. This is objected [adduced]. I will not stand to answear in particuler. Only thus Much in generall termes I say, thatt Notwithstanding all these inconveniences, they have by their engenious labours and cleanlinesse soe corrected them, that they have made a place where they live in health and wealth, ease and pleasure. For allthough the land, and thatt with Much labour, is broughtt only to pasture, and thatt butt in summer Neither, yett by Meanes off their shipping, they are plentifully suplied with whatt the earth affoards For the use off Man, As Corne, pitch, Tarre, Flax, hempe, etts. From Dantzicke, Cuningsberg [Königsberg], etts. in the Balticke Sea; Masts, timber, Fish, etts., From Norway; From Denmarcke, Cattle; and From any part off the world beesides, either in Europe, Asia, Affricke or America, where any trade is, with the Most pretious and Ritche Comodities off those parts, with which supplying other Countries they More and More enritche their owne.

Publicke buildings, *viz.*, Exchange, Hospitalls.

Their buildings For Publicke uses, *viz.*, The Exchange is

[1] The old West India House on the Harlemmerdijk was in a building erected by the Town in 1617, let to the West India Company in 1621, enlarged by them in 1629, and taken over by the Town in 1657 as the "Heerenlogement" for distinguished guests. A new West India House was in process of construction at the time of Mundy's visit. See P. von Zesen, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 225; Bredius, *op. cit.* (G.B.), 137.

For Mundy's remarks on elephants' skulls see vol. III. pp. 332–3.

such another as att London, thatt beeing a pattern to this[1]. Then their Hospitalls For Orphans, sicke persons, lame souldiers, old Folkes, madde people, etts., are very Fairely built, wonderffully well ordred and cleanly kept[2].

Houses of correction.

Their are allsoe 2 houses off Correction, *viz.*, the raspe house and the Spynnehouse; the Former For Men, where they are putt to hard labour, cheiffly to raspe Brasill etts. [and other] diers wood. The weomen and wenches are More Favoured in the spynnehouse, For they Sitt like soe many att Schoole, very civilly and queitly [*sic*] att their Needle,

[1] The old "Beurs" or Exchange on the Rokin was begun in 1608, inaugurated in 1613 and demolished *c.* 1840. See Scheltema, *De Beurs van Amsterdam*, pp. 23, 68–69, 73; P. von Zesen, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

Brereton (p. 55) remarks: "We saw their Exchange, which, were it square, the walk underneath would resemble that of our Exchange in London, but it is something narrower in the ends."

Bargrave (1652) agrees with Mundy that "the Burse" was "exactly like our Merchants Exchange as to its forme and use," but he found it "inferiour in its adornments" (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, f. 92).

Bowrey (1698) says it was one-third longer and one-third narrower than the London building (*Bowrey MS. Papers, Hague Diary*). See also Edward Browne's *Travels*, p. 97.

[2] Evelyn, who was at Amsterdam in August 1641 (*Diary*, ed. Bray, p. 15), "went to see the Weese-house [Du. *wees*, orphan], a foundation like our Charter-house, for the education of decay'd persons, orphans and poore children, where they are taught several occupations....Thence to the Dull-house [Du. *dolhuis*, madhouse] for madmen and fooles. But none did I so much admire as the Hospitall for their lame and decrepid souldiers." Bargrave (1652) notes "the Hospitall where all poore Citizen Orfanes are maintaind," and "The Sick Hospitall consisting of two Cloisters, which (making halfe a Square) joine at the Corner: and here stands a pulpitt, obvious to all parts of both the cloisters. They conteine about 100 beds, all neatly furnished, and most cleanly kept." He also visited "the Hospitalls for Burghers and Burghers widowes, decayed by Age or in Estate, where is allotted to each two persons a Chamber, besides other publike Roomes, as a Kitchen, a Chappell &ca., and a Hall, where they meale (as in a Colledge) alltogether." Of the lunatic asylum Bargrave remarks that "theyr Dull house or Bedlame" was "a faire building, having abundance of Lodgings, made very strong and darke, having to each roome a necessary house, the madmen being admirably provided for in all respects of food, rayment, Phisick and attendance; and indeed it is the fullest of guest[s] that I have ever yet seen" (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fols. 90, 92). See also E. Browne, p. 98; Montague, *Delights of Holland*, p. 182.

etts. weomens excersises, wanting Nothing butt liberty; Many of them better in then outt[1].

Clocke towers.

Their Churche steeples and Clocketowers (which I omitted in due place) are, From aboutt the Middlepart upward, off an admirable Geometricall and artificiall Forme, commonly of Timber carved, with lead: Full of Arches, pillars, pinnacles, devisions, galleries etts. devices one above another, lessning to the toppe. The bells For the Chimes, etts., all in sightt[2]; the towers off the old and Westerkercke among the rest[3]; the Giralda att Sevill somwhatt resembling these, butt thatt is off stone[4].

Badd walking: Feilds or perticuler gardeins.

Badde walking outt of Towne, except on a walle or bancke cast uppe by hande; the lower ground Full off Trenches, ditches, divisiones. This generally through the Countrie, as allsoe the banckes off the Channells through the land, soe thatt either For pleasure or Necescity, there is scarce any towne or place off Note butt you may com by water unto it very comodiously and cheape. Were the Channells in the Citty off running water, or did the Sea Ebbe and Flow, itt were a place incomparable. However, these are att certaine tymes lett Forth, cleansed, and supplied againe. Many pooles, ditches of standing stincking water in sundry places aboutt the Citty; some within.

[1] Bargrave (f. 93), Evelyn (*op. cit.*, p. 15), E. Browne (pp. 97–98), Montague, *Delights of Holland* (pp. 171–5) and Bowrey, all have descriptions of the Rasp and Spin Houses, the former a house of correction formerly in use in Holland, Germany, &c. where prisoners were employed in rasping wood, and the latter a penitentiary for women. Bargrave and Bowrey dilate on the "exquisit punishments" for rogues in the Rasp House. For admission to the Spin House, Bowrey paid 2 stivers entrance fee.

[2] Busino was also impressed with the clock-towers of Amsterdam: "About the city they have certain tall and handsome towers, on each of whose fronts are clock dials, which chime first the quarters and then the hours, with sundry bells, making a fine concert, as if tuned together" (*Venetian Transcripts*, vol. 142, p. 37).

[3] See *ante*, p. 69.

[4] For Mundy's various visits to Seville in his early days see vol. I. pp. 14, 97, 137.

How countervailed [counterbalanced].

The want off walking Feilds and Meddowes, which others enjoy in other places, have Made these to seeke to countervaile itt in home delights, as in their streets, houses, roomes, ornamentt, Furniture, little gardeins, Flower potts, in which latter very curious off rare rootes, plantts, Flowers, etts.; incredible prices For tulip rootes[1]. Allsoe Manuffactures and rarieties off Forraigne Countries, off which this place doth a bound and wherin the[y] take delight.

A Question.

A Question may bee demaunded. Whatt difference there may bee beetweene the aire of this Citty and the ayre of some others thatt I have seene, This standing on a Marshy ground and consequently held unwholsome, butt I thincke the lesse Felt by reason off their home cleanlinesse and largnesse off their streete Channells (this For the Most part). That others standing in a very cleare aire, yett the streetes Filthy, beastly, Full of dung, dirt and trash in every corner, Filling the lower part off the aire (where people breath) with unwholsome, unsavoury, stincking, vapours, which the inhabitants Must sucke in, in the Meane while, little the better For the cleare aire over their heads, except they goe Forth in the Country or abroad in the Feilds to take itt.

[1] The cultivation of special flowers came into vogue in the 17th century, and the "tulip mania" was at its height in Holland in 1636–7. The bulb had been introduced from Constantinople to N. Europe (first to Augsburg) in 1559. In Mundy's day speculation in tulips was rife and bulbs were sold for enormous sums by those who did not possess them on condition of delivery to the purchaser within a certain time, as much as 13,000 gulden being paid for a single *Semper Augustus*. But when the buyers began to refuse to pay the agreed sums, and when the States-General decided that such sums should be recovered, like any other debt, in the ordinary way, the immense prices rapidly fell.

Compare De Blainville's amusing remarks on the craze (I. 28): "The people of Harlem were anciently nicknamed Florists, for this Reason; that in the year 1634, 35, 36 and 37, they were possessed with such a Rage or to give it its proper Name, such an Itching for their Flowers, as to give one, two, nay often 3 thousand Crowns for a Tulip that pleased their Fancies; a Disease that ruined several rich Families."

A straunge Custome.

Two or 3 words more off whatt is strange or rare here, beesides the afforementioned. Att a Marriage the Bride is most usually ushered to and From Church by officers such as aprehend and execute Maleffactors (commonly called theefeleaders [Du. *dievenleider*, police constables]) and the greater the personage, the More goe before her: A strange Custom that the Bride must bee graced [honoured] with such a kind off people as are contemned off alle Justice, executed commonly on the dam or Markett place[1] on a scaffold off purpose, the scout or shreeve [Du. *schout*, mayor, sheriff] presentt with many Burgers off quallity[2].

Curiosities at Menest Bruidlofft and Doulehoffts.

Here is a house Named Menest Bruilofft, where are sundry curiosities off Musicke, water workes, etts. Among the rest an Instrument off China dishes to bee plaied as on the Virginalls[3], the like of smalle bells, butt somwhatt improper [irregular, inaccurate] and harsh, by reason that the sound off one bell by his long continuance conffounds the other. Such kinds require longer tyme and single Notes, as our Chimes in London etts. part off England, which are More tuneable then these here, by reason they strike to[o] thick one uppon another for the Most part. And among the water workes sundry Motions, as the Mounting off a bird into the Ayre, a Crowne, etts., which returne into their places againe, as little balls will continue in an uprightt spout off water and will rise and Fall according to the strengthning and Failings

[1] Mundy is using "dam" in the sense of flat land from which water has been drained and not as a synonym for market-place (*markt-plaats*).

[2] The Dutch spent freely on weddings and funerals, and processions of invited guests and professional or official attendants were a marked feature of these. Mundy's slight acquaintance with Holland and the Dutch language seems to have led him to confuse wedding officials with police constables.

When Bowrey was at Amsterdam, in June 1698, he saw a number of couples married at once and he says that "here is no other way of marriage" (*Bowrey MS. Papers, Hague Diary*).

[3] Virginal, a keyed musical instrument, common in England in the 16th and 17th centuries, resembling a spinet, but set in a box or case without legs.

off the water. Allsoe the Sunne, Moone and Starres represented by water, don by the same Meanes as in the English gardein att Suratt is described, Fol: [blank][1] Many other Motions off wheeleworcks where [*sic*] here shewne[2]; some such like are allsoe to bee seene att the Doulehoffts, certaine drincking houses[3], all ffor Mony.

[1] See vol. II. pp. 26, 27.

[2] Menisten-Bruiloft or Mennisten-Bruyloft, *i.e.* the Anabaptist's or Mennonite's Wedding. Second-rate so-called Music-houses were a feature of 17th century Amsterdam, and did not generally enjoy great repute. The Huijs te Sinnelust (the House of the Senses' Delight), also called In de Mennisten Bruyloft (At the Sign of the Anabaptist's Wedding), was, however, an exception. (See *Het Muziekleven* by D. F. Scheurleer, p. 20, in Bredius, *op. cit.*, Deel 3.)

Sir William Brereton not only gives a description of the Menisten-Bruiloft, but also the name of its owner, Johannes Antonides, a learned Orientalist who taught Arabic in Leyden in 1612 (A. J. van der Aa, *Biog. Woordenboek der Nederlanden*). Brereton's description is as follows (*Travels*, p. 56): "Tuesday 11 Juni [1634]. We went into the house of Yantunus who hath been professor in Leyden of the Arabic language, a lusty old man, whose beard reacheth his girdle. In this house he hath erected a most curious water-work at an infinite charge; no room without some rare invention for pleasure and delight; none for lodging almost, but also contrived and furnished with several inventions, and those all various to affect the outward sense, and draw on ghuests to apply there. He is an Anabaptist, but a man of most strange invention. This most rare invention, this waterwork, is erected in the top of his house, which is six stories high, where having heard all sorts of music upon strings, upon wind-instruments, and upon an instrument which did in a pleasant tune and harmony make the bells to sound, playing thereon as you do upon virginalls."

Evelyn also visited and described the Menisten-Bruiloft in August 1641 (*Diary*, ed. Bray, p. 16), and he, too, specially remarked "the chime of purselan dishes which fitted to the clock-worke rung many changes and tunes."

[3] Dool-hof, literally, the Maze. Philip von Zesen (1663) says that certain taverns and playhouses of Amsterdam were so called "because there the senses go astray and the eyes do dote" (P. von Zesen, *op. cit.*, p. 190). The most celebrated of these Mazes was the Doolhof of David Lingelbach, which enjoyed worldwide renown for its fountains, automata and mechanical contrivances (Bredius, *op. cit.*, Deel 1 (G.B.), pp. 165–6; P. von Zesen, *op. cit.*, p. 212).

Brereton also visited these celebrated show-places. On the 12th June 1634 (*Travels*, pp. 57–58), he went to "a house called Dole Hoofe, where we saw the pictures made in wax most livelyly of the Infanta standing, with her dwarf attending; 2 Henrie the Fourth, Bourbon King of France and his Queen. Here also was showed a work going upon wheels, showing men in all postures, some mowing, some threshing....Here a curious maze. Thence we went to another Dole-hoofe, where we saw such another water-work as the day before [*i.e.* at the Menisten-Bruiloft], only

A greatt Tonne.

Here is a greatt vessell or tonne, conteyning about one hundred and [blank] burdeaulx hogheads; the tymber worcke very strong and Nett [clean, smart], with great Massy well wroughtt Iron hoopes, with Screwes to contracte them [draw them together], New and entire, allthough Now outt off use, except to bee seene by Strangers and for a drincking roome to som that are desirous, there beeing a little port to creepe in, where they Must have Candlelightt. In the Middle is a table whereatt may sitt 8 persons off a side, butt itt will comodiously hold 2 such tables with benches, wheron may easily [sit] 32 persons: a strong costly and curious peece off worcke[1].

Cranes.

In summer tyme store off Cranes repaire to this Country, where they breed, And in winter retourne From whence they came. It is somwhatt straunge that wee should have None in England[2]; quere.

it was on the ground....Here a show of ships sailing, which are moved by water; Actaeon turned into a hart, with horns, pursued by his hounds, Diana following in revenge. Here the show of the Pope going in procession, carried by his bishops, attended by cardinals, princes, abbots, monks, friars, and the devil following after them; here mass sung, the devil roars."

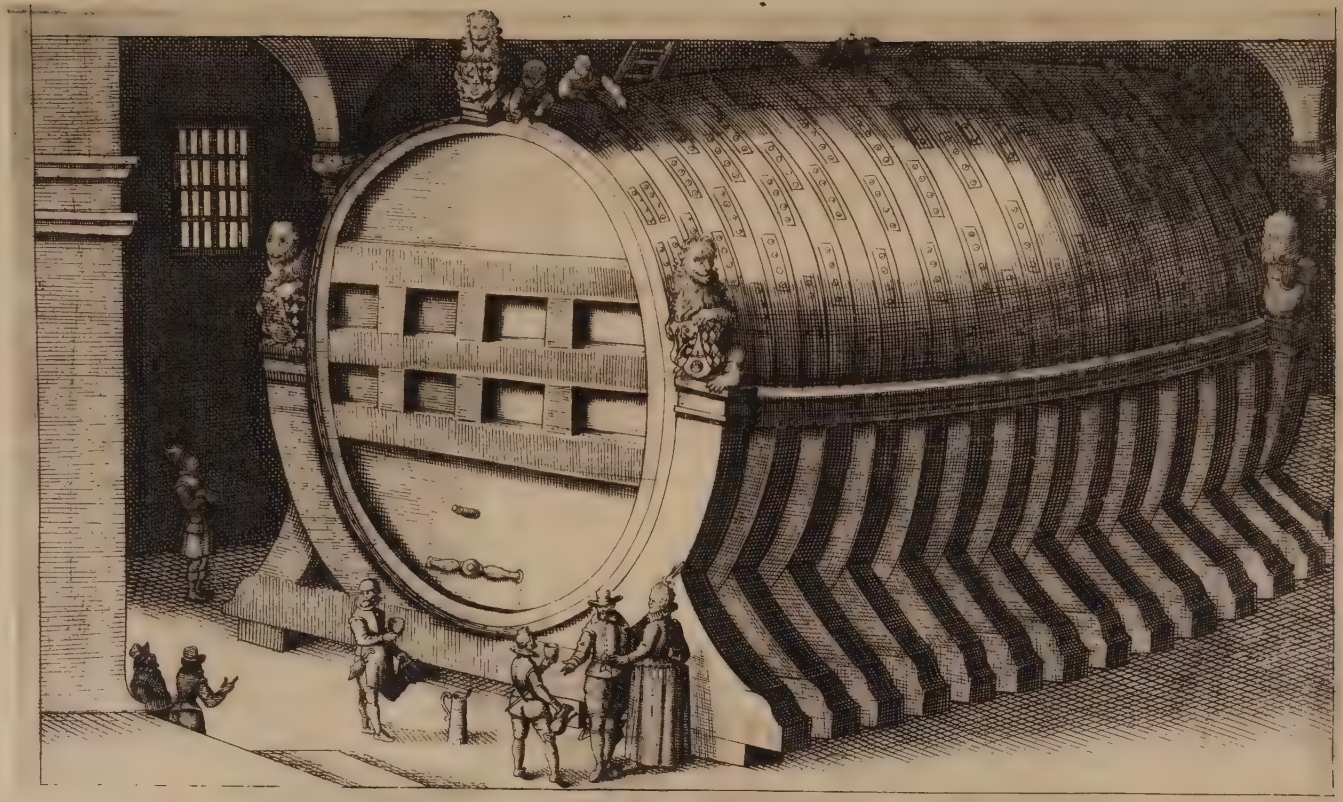
See also Edward Browne's description (p. 100) of their "Musick-house or Entertaining-house."

[1] See Plate I, illustration No. 1. Mundy has abstracted from Coryat's *Crudities*, pub. 1611, his illustration of The Heidelberg Tun and has written under it "Somewhatt after this Manner."

P. von Zesen, *op. cit.*, p. 332, has remarks on the Amsterdam Tun and its location which are worth quoting: "On reaching the end of this [Achter or Hinder] Burgwall, one finds by the Zoutboug, in a warehouse and wine-house, a large empty wine tonne, which can hold 170 awmes [of 37 to 41 gallons] of wine, and is used as a drinking-room. Therein stand a table and two benches for those who have the fancy to keep carnival there. There need be no fear of hitting one's head above, as the tonne is of such width and height, that he who stands upon the table can scarcely reach the top."

Mundy supports von Zesen as to the content of the "tonne" by saying that it contained about 100 odd Bordeaux hogsheads, *i.e. barriques* of about 60¾ gallons. Both statements make the "tonne" to contain about 6800 gallons.

[2] In Mundy's day cranes were still found in Norfolk and in the fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, but as his travels did not include these districts, the bird was a stranger to him.



No. 1. A greatt Tonne.

(*a*)

(*b*)

No. 2. Brabantts Huke:
(*a*) the elder weomen.
(*b*) the yonger sort.

Brabantts Huke.

Among the habitts off weomen, which are here variable, as in other Countries, I will only sett downe the Brabants huke[1], beecause it is a pretty conceipted [fanciful] beecomming Fashion. The elder [the woman], the uprighter is the stemme or peake, butt the yonger sort enclining and standing forward as boltspritts or as unicornes [horns] in pictures, thus[2].

Coines: denominationes off Coynes.

Here Followe som off their coines and denominationes off Coines. I know no where the like Multiplicity off devisions.

A doit, a Copper peece, wherof 8 to one stiver.
A Ortkee or quarter, 2 stivers, I say 2 doits, a brasse peece allso.

Hallffe a blancke	3 doitts.
A groate is	4 doitts or halff a stiver.
Hallffe a brasse penny	5 doitts.
A Blancke	6 doitts.
A stiver	8 doitts, a Copper coine silvered over.
A dooblekin	2 stivers, a Copper peece, allsoe silvered.
A stoter	2½ stivers.
A Reealle	3½ stivers.
A shilling	6 stivers.
A Guilder	20 stivers.
A common doller	30 stivers.
A Rix doller, etts.	48 stivers, which may bee aboutt 4s. 4d. English Mony.
A Ducaton	63 stivers, a silver coine.
A pownd	6 guilders, their recknings beein in guilders, shillings and groates.

[1] The huke, huyke, Dutch *huik*, was a mantle, cape or cloak with a hood. The "Brabant huke" (*peplum muliebre Brabanticum*) was a large Dutch mantle serving as a cloak and a head-covering for use out of doors. The fashion of the head-covering differed in various districts. For type (*a*) see Montanus, *P. Kaerii Germania Inferior*, title-page and maps; Braun and Hohenberg, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, II. 18, 29. For type (*b*) see Hollar, *Theatrum Mulierum*. See also Weiss, *Kostüm-Kunde*, pp. 82, &c.; Planché, *Cyclopædia of Costume*, pp. 267–8; Köhler, *Trachten*, III. 88–90, 294–5.

[2] See Plate II, illustration No. 2. The illustration of the "elder [sort]" is an engraving, taken probably from some contemporary book of travels, not traced. The huke of the "younger sort" is a pencil drawing by Mundy himself.

These are the Coines and denominationes off Coines which are most usuall. Many other there bee off gold and silver, here omitted[1].

[1] The value of Mundy's table in English money of his time is as follows:

Doit (Du. *duit*), an old Dutch copper coin, worth half a farthing English.

Ortkee (Du. *oortje*, *oortke*), quarter of a stiver or one farthing English. Moryson (I. xxiv) makes the "Doight" equal to the "Orkee." Mundy uses the terms brass and copper indiscriminately in speaking of money.

Blancke (Du. *blank*), an old Dutch six-doit-piece, worth 3 farthings English.

Groate (Du. *groot*), worth one halfpenny English.

Brass penny (Du. *penning*), worth about one halfpenny English.

Stiver (Du. *stuiver*), 8 doits, worth one penny English.

Dooblekin (Du. *dubbeltje*, *dubbelke*), worth two pence English.

Stoter (Du. *stooter*), an old Dutch silver coin worth $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ English.

Reealle (Du. *reaal*), an old silver coin of varying value.

Shilling (Du. *schelling*), an old Dutch coin worth 6*d.* English.

Guilder (Du. *gulden*), a Dutch silver coin worth about 1*s.* 8*d.* English.

Doller (Du. *daalder*), worth 2*s.* 6*d.*

Rix doller (Du. *rijks-daalder*), generally reckoned at 50 stivers or about 4*s.* 2*d.*

Ducaton (Du. *dukaton*), worth 5*s.* 3*d.*

Pownd (Du. *pond*). The Flemish pound was still worth 6 florins or gulden in 1875 (Calisch, *Nederlandsch-Engelsch Woordenboek*).

Mundy's table further shows that in his time there were three scales of Dutch money in use and this was probably due to the introduction of foreign coinages owing to changes in the political position of the country.

Scale I.

2	—	: 2	doits	= 1 ortkee
4	—	: 2	ortkees	= 1 groate
8 doits		: 2	groates	= 1 stiver
$2\frac{1}{2}$	—	: $2\frac{1}{2}$	stivers	= 1 stoter
20	—	: 8	stoters	= 1 guilder
120 stivers		: 6	guilders	= 1 pownd

Scale II.

3	—	: 3	doits	= 1 half blancke
2	—	: 2	half blanckes	= 1 blancke
8 doits		: $1\frac{1}{3}$	blanckes	= 1 stiver
2	—	: 2	stivers	= 1 dooblekin
6	—	: 3	dooblekins	= 1 shilling
30	—	: 5	shillings	= 1 doller
48 stivers		: $1\frac{2}{6}$	dollers	= 1 rix doller

Scale III.

5	—	: 5	doits	= 1 halfpenny
8 doits		: $1\frac{3}{5}$	halfpenny	= 1 stiver
$3\frac{1}{2}$	—	: $3\frac{1}{2}$	stivers	= 1 realle
63 stivers		: 18	realles	= 1 ducaton

Thomas Bowrey's table of coins at Amsterdam in 1698 agrees with Mundy's in almost every particular, but is set out in a different fashion (*Bowrey MS. Papers, Hague Diary*).

Reason For the enlargement off the afforegoing description.

I have bin the longer aboutt the discription off this place, etts., beecause there are soe many particularities wherin it differs (and in som excells) other parts, allsoe beeing my selff somwhatt affectionated and enclined to the Manner off the Countrie. I conceave whatt is said off this place May serve For all Holland in generall, this beeing prime, For all the rest which I have seene hath bine suteable [in accordance], More or lesse.

RELATION XXXIII

OF A VOIAGE FROM AMSTERDAM UNTO DANTZIG IN THE BALTICKE SEA, WITH SOMWHATT OF PRUISSIA ETTS. COUNTRIES ADJOYNING.

Sett saile From Amsterdam and came to Vlie Iland.

The 17th August Anno 1640. Wee sett saile from Amsterdam in the *Hope*, of Vlieland, Skipper William Tiebbes, beeing Mondaie Morning, and thatt afternoone wee were aground on the Pampos, a greatt Flatte of oaze lying att the entrance of the Suider Sea[1], a little sea on this coast, bounded to the Eastwardt with sundry smalle Ilands, as the Texell, the Vlie, der Skelling, Ameland, etts.; many places off Noate lying round about on the inside, *viz.*, Campen, Staverne, Harlingen, Enckhuisen, Horne, etts. Wee came off againe. Wee passed beetweene Enchuusen and Staverne, both in sightt, and Anchored thereaboutts thatt Nightt[2].

The 18th ditto. Wee came to the Vlie, where wee Found riding aboutt 200 saile, bound all to the Northward, this beeing the ordinary outtlett For such, as the Texell is For Southward bound Men[3].

The Iland off Vlie is allmost overblowne with Sand; 2 little townes, East and West Vlie, on the south side of itt[4]; some Marish ground For pasturage.

[1] The Pampus Shoal is a bar of soft ooze about 7 miles from Amsterdam, with only 7 ft. of water (see *North Sea Pilot*, Pt. IV. p. 143).

[2] Mundy's geography is rather mixed in this paragraph. Amsterdam is in the S.W. corner of the Zuider Zee which is closed in on the North, not "Eastwardt" as he says, by the islands of Texel, Vlieland, Terschelling and Ameland. Going Northwards from Amsterdam to the open North Sea for Denmark and the Baltic by the Vlie Stroom, or strait between Vlieland and Terschelling, the following places lie on the East Coast of the Zuider Zee, Kampen, Stavoren and Harlingen; and on the West Coast lie Hoorn, and Enkhuizen. For Moryson's remarks on these places see *Itinerary*, I. 114, 115.

[3] Mundy went out of the Zuider Zee by the Vlie Stroom and the Southern way out which he mentions is the Texel Stroom between Texel and the mainland at Helder.

[4] West Vlieland and Ost Vlieland lie to the S.W. and N.E. of Vlieland. See Moryson, *Itinerary*, I. 115.

Sett saile from thence: a daungerous Coaste.

The 26th August [1640]. Wee sett saile From the Vlie with a Fleete off aboutt 240 saile, wherof 12 Men of warre For convoy (against the Dunkerkers[1]), the rest For the most part Prammes, Floctes or Flieboates[2], off No deffence att all. Wee passed by divers beacons, towers, seamarkes, etts., on the land, and sundry boies, some white, some blacke, etts., in the Sea here and there, all Needffull by reason off the daungerousnesse off this coast, soe Full off bancks, Flatts, shelves, shoalds, sands; part off this Fleete bound For Bergen in Norway; others For other parts of thatt Countrie; the rest For Dantzig, Coningsberg [Königsberg], Riga, etts. [and other] places in the Baltick Sea. Those thatt were bound For Bergen in Norway parted From us as soone as wee were outt off the Vlie and clear off the Sands, with 2 Conveyers [convoyers] steering a More Northerly course.

The 27th [*August* 1640]. Our whole Fleete tackt aboutt and stoode backe againe to keepe company with our wafters[3], who wee supposed to bee in Chace off Dunckerkers, which wee were advised would way lay the Fleet to surprize some. It is a wonder how they can Misse one or other, This sea soe swarming with vessells undeffencible and unfitting For Fightt. After 3 or 4 howers wee stood to our Former Course againe.

A greatt Fleete.

The 29th [*August* 1640]. About ½ off our Fleet edged From us, bound For the higher parts of Norway with 6 Convoyers, and wee with the other haled a More easterly Course towards the Sound[4]. This evening wee Mett another Fleet coming

[1] See *ante*, note 2 on p. 57. Moryson also, in 1593, found a convoy of nine ships at "Fly" [Vlie] as a protection against Dunkirkers and "all Pyrats" (I. 115).

[2] The pram (Du. *praam*), a flat-bottomed boat or lighter for shipping cargo.

The flocte (Du. *vlot*, a raft), a flat-bottomed vessel, a lighter.

The flyboat (Du. *vlieboot*), a boat used on the Vlie; a fast-sailing coasting vessel; also a Dutch flat-bottomed boat.

[3] Wafter (Du. *wachter*, lit. guard), an obsolete term for an armed vessel employed as a convoy.

[4] The Sound is the English name of the strait between the Island of Zealand (on which Copenhagen is situated) and the Swedish Coast.

from thence, Near uppon 100 saile, soe thatt whatt with these, our selves, and the Norway Fleete Nott Farre From us, I Never saw a greater Fleete in all my liffe under saile, beeing Near aboutt 300.

Yuttland.

By 3 off the Clocke this evening wee saw land, and the Following Nightt wee sailed along by itt Near the shoare, itt beeing the Coast of Juttland or Yuttland [Northern Denmark], in the King of Denmarcks dominion.

Schawgen.

The 30th of August [1640]. Wee saw the point of Schagen lying in [57] degrees [44] minutes North lattitude[1]. Aboutt Noone wee came on the other side of the point and then our Southerly wind, Favourable hitherto, would serve us no Farther, beecause Now our Corse lay Near South. Beesides, itt beegan to blow hard, with thicke weather and Raine, soe were minded to Anchor. Butt on the sodaine, in a gust, came the wind westerly, Fitt for our turne, and the weather cleared upp; soe wee proceeded onward. Thatt evening wee saw Lesow [Læsö], an Iland.

Elsenour.

The 31th [*August* 1640]. Wee saw yong Cole and old Cole[2], 2 head Lands, the Former the Northward of the Latter, and came and anchored by Elseneur [Elsinore, Helsingör]. Here is a very Faire and sightly Castle[3], by report very strong.

[1] The Skaw or Cape Skagen, the Northernmost point of Denmark.

[2] The reference here appears to be to two of the headlands of the Kullaberg to the South of the Skelder (or Kulla) Bay in Sweden, known as Kullen, where there is now a lighthouse. There are several separate heights. The highest (Mundy's "yong Cole") is a remarkable isolated mass of granite, 900 ft., visible from a great distance and a landmark to mariners. See Relation XXXV for another allusion to these points on Mundy's homeward journey. See also Rosenberg, *Handbok för Resande i Sverige*, pp. 142–3; *ibid.*, *Geog.-Stadestikt Handlexikon öfer Sverige; Baltic Pilot*, Pt. I. ed. 1904, p. 92.

[3] The castle of Kronborg at Helsingör, built by Frederik II of Denmark at the end of the 16th century, after the design of Tycho Brahe. Moryson (I. 124) says that he "did with great difficulty (putting on a Merchants habite, and giving a greater reward than the favour deserved) obtaine to enter Cronsburg Castle." For earlier, contemporary, and later

Strangers Not suffred to enter. The towne itt selffe plaine and quiett, which is much in regard off the great Number off shipping which must here anchor to pay certaine duties unto the King of Denmarck (who keepes this passage), off which hee maketh an incredible beneffitt[1].

Lutherans.

In the towne is a Faire Church with a loffty Spire[2], a great Cruciffix on the roode lofftt, an Altar adorned with Images, as many parts off the Church elce, as have the Papists. Yett nott soe reverenced Nor respected by these who are termed Lutherans, who allow therof, as allsoe much ceremonies in their Church service, with Auricular Confession, etts.[3]

Here was allsoe the Most artificiall, Fairest and Costliest

descriptions of the castle see Wunderer, *Reise* (1588), ed. Fichard, p. 177; Olafsson, ed. Philpotts, I. 101; Friis, *Samlinger til dansk Bygningshistorie*, pp. 277 ff.; Zeiler, *Itin. Germ. Nov. Antiq.*, p. 403; Suhm, *Nye Samling*, III. 97 ff.

[1] Compare Speed, p. 30: "[The King of Denmark's] best profit is from a breach of the Sea...commonly called the Sound, which is a passage so narrow that no shipping can pass that way without the licence and favour of the Watch-men keeping Garrison there to receive the Imposts and Customes of the arriving Vessels for the King." See also *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 177.

[2] The church Mundy is describing is St Olaf in the Stengade, built in the 15th century. The spire, which was added in 1613, blew down in 1737 and was replaced in 1897–8.

[3] By Mundy's time the Danes had become chiefly Lutherans, and these often retained the objects left in churches by their Roman Catholic predecessors. Moryson remarks of the Lutherans (*Shakespeare's Europe*, p. 269): "Their Churches on the insyde were curiously painted with Images (not defaced at the Reformation) and fayre Alters standing as they were of old; yet to no use of religion. For Luther thought it enough to take the woorshipping of Images out of their harts, though the beauty of them were not defaced in the Church."

As regards Confession, Private Confession in Church was maintained by Art. 11 of the Augsburg Confession, but General Confession by the Minister in the name of the congregation was gradually substituted, the latter becoming almost universal in the middle of the 18th century. See Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexikon* (1851), *s.v.* Beichte. On this point Moryson also remarks: "The Lutherans retayne Confession, but not alltogether Popish, auricular but only generall." At the same time he has a story of a "strife" at Leipsic between two Lutheran ministers, to one of whom people flocked "for auricular confession" (*Shakespeare's Europe*, pp. 264, 271).

pulpitt thatt yett I have seene; a Faire Font, pedestall, cover and all, off brasse[1].

The land aboutt this place very delighttffull in pretty swellings or hillocks, Full off Fine little vallies, pleasaunt groves off trees, and ponds and Fountaines off water, sweet solitary walkes, etts.

Att our Inne, which was one of the best[2], were used No Napkins att table, allthough the service was all Ritche and cleanly (itt is the Fashion sometymes in these parts). Allsoe att Nightt wee were laied beetweene 2 Fetherbeds, this beeing allsoe the Manner here[3], As once I remember wee were soe entertayned in Gascony, going to [*sic*] uppe the River into the Country From Bayon[4].

The Sound.

From hence to Elsenbourg, aboutt 3 miles, another towne with a very old Castle[5]. Beetweene both these lyeth the passage in to the East or Balticke Sea, allthough there bee

[1] The carved, painted and gilded pulpit was the work of Jesper Snedker, *i.e.* Jasper the joiner, of Kronborg, *c.* 1567. It was "improved" in the "Bruskbaroque" period (early 18th century) when, amongst other things, a large canopy was added.

The "Faire Font," cast in brass, with projecting feet resting on lions, was presented to the church in 1579 by Frantz Lauritzen and his wife. See J. P. Trap, *Kongeriget Danmark*.

[2] The name of the inn has not been ascertained, but it was probably the one described by Ogier in his *Dänische Reise*.

[3] Mundy means that he lay in bed between two feather bags (Dan. *Fjederseng*) on a mattress. It is still a common custom in Northern Europe. See Moryson, IV. 31. The use of feather-beds showed that the inn was a high-class one. In the ordinary inns straw only was provided.

[4] Mundy spent a year at Bayonne, 1609–10, to learn French as a lad. See vol. I. pp. xx and 13. The place he refers to is probably Cambo (now Cambo-les-Bains), 12 miles up the Nive from Bayonne, where there is a great annual meeting of the Basques on St John's Eve, and a very interesting Basque church.

[5] Helsingör (Elsinore) is in Zealand (Denmark) and Helsingborg is in Sweden across the Sound which is here very narrow, only about 2¼ miles.

The castle is first mentioned in 1135 and a tower of this old fortress, which was destroyed by fire, still remains. Eric XIV (1560–1577) built another castle near the sea, and this is probably the one to which Mundy refers; but it no longer exists, as it was razed to the ground by Charles XI (1660–1667). See Rosenberg, *Handbok för Resande i Sverige*, pp. 139–140; Moryson, I. 124.

another aboutt the Iland off Zealand [the Great Belt], butt itt is Much Farther aboutt and daungerous, this beeing the usuall place where they passe, except bound For some off those inner parts [Lubeck, &c.].

The 2d September [1640]. Wee sett saile From Elsenour, the interim beeing past in clearing our shippe, which paid aboutt 800 Rix dollers. From hence, every one, as soone as hee was visited and clear, sett saile to take their best advauntage, there beeing Now No daunger off enemies[1], Nor Need off Convoyers, whoe ride aboutt a Mile shortt off the Castle and there awaite a homeward bound Fleete which will sodainely bee ready. Att Nightt wee anchored Nere Copenhaven [Copenhagen, Kjöbenhavn] by reason of rocks and shelves hereawaies, daungerous to bee passed by Night.

Copenhaven.

The 3d [*September* 1640]. In the Morning wee saw the Citty off Coppenhaven about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant. Itt lies close to the seaside and Faire to see to, with many spires, beeing the Metrapolitan or Cheiffe Citty in Denmarcke. Wee sett saile and passed by 4 of the king of Denmarcks shippes of warre[2], riding outt in the roade, very nett [trim], compleatt, allthough not very greatt.

A good Country hereaboutts.

Hereaboutts Many steered away a More Easterly course; some bound For Stockholme, etts., in Sweden; others For Reega [Riga], etts., in Liffland [Livland, Livonia]. [We sailed] all alongst good land in appearance, Not Marish, low Nor Mountaynous high, butt Meane [of middling height, downs], Full of woods and habitationes as Farre as wee could perceave, having passed by sundry Ilands, *viz.*, [blank]. Aboutt Noone wee were outt off sightt off Land, the sea water No other then Brackish. Aboutt 3

[1] Moryson also (II. 19) remarks on the freedom of the Baltic Sea from pirates.

[2] The King of Denmark in Mundy's day was Christian IV (1588–1648).

a clocke in the afternoone wee saw the Iland of Burnholme [Bornholm].

The 4th September [1640]. In the Morning wee were thwart of Cassooben, a province under the king of Poland[1], having passed by Pomerania which was yett in sightt, aperteyning unto the king of Sweden (as I was told)[2]. Aboutt Noone wee wentt by Riggshofftt [Rixhöft], a high headland; the sea here allmost fresh water.

The 4th September [1640]. Att evening, as wee were turning in to the roade of Dantzig, our shippe grounded on a banck off Sand, butt came presently [immediately] off againe withoutt any hurt or danger; soe that Nightt wee anchored before the Castle or Lanthorne [lighthouse[3]].

Dantzig.

The 5th September [1640]. In the Morning The skipper, my selffe and others in our Boate went ashoare. Passing by the Castle, a large and strongly Fortiffied place[4], wee went aboutt 2 Miles upp the River Weessell [Weichsel, Vistula], which is butt Narrow. Soe wee came to the Citty off Dant-

[1] Mundy's history is at fault. Cassubia, a part of Pomerania in Hinter-Pommern, between the Baltic Sea, Prussia, and the Duchy of Stettin, chief town Kolberg, was under Polish superiority till the beginning of the 14th century, when the greater portion fell away, part of it for ever, to the Pomeranian Duchy of Wolgast. In 1631 it passed into the hands of Sweden, but was given in 1648 to the Elector of Brandenburg by the Treaty of Westphalia. It was therefore in Swedish hands in Mundy's time. See Zeiler, *op. cit.*, p. 619; Moreri, *Grand Dictionnaire*; Freeman, *Hist. Geog. of Europe*, p. 496.

[2] Mundy is right. In 1640, during the Thirty Years' War, Pomerania was devastated and held by the Swedes, to whom the Western part of the Province was awarded by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

[3] This "Castle" must not be confused with the Münde, described in the next paragraph. The writer of *A Particular Description of Dantzick*, 1734, says, p. 4: "Between the Mouth of the River and the Port there is a Fort which is called the Light House, where there is a Light every Night, which is a Direction afar off to all Ships making to the Harbour." Le Laboureur also (1647) mentions the "Fort de la Lanterne" (*Relation d'un Voyage*, p. 145) and says it was 1½ leagues from Danzig.

[4] The Münde (Weichselmünde), described in the *Part. Desc. of Dantzick*, p. 5, as "a little fortified Castle commanding the whole Navigation of the Gulph and the Entrance into the River and Harbour...about three Miles distant from the Town." This seems to be the fort noted by Moryson (I. 130) as "a strong Castle of a round forme," at "Der Mind" the "Port of Dantzke.'

Nº III

Map showing

MUNDY'S JOURNEYS

in the

NETHERLANDS GERMANY AND DENMARK

zicke[1], the Land towards the sea such as aboutt Amsterdam, butt towards the Country higher.

The 23d September Anno 1640. Departed From Dantzig. Thatt Night wee crossed the River Weecell [Weichsel] and lodged in a Crooh[2] on the other side; No bedding affoarded in these high way Lodgings in this Country butt such as Men bring with them, and butt little victualles elce; to day aboutt 12 Miles.

Elbing.

The 24th [*September* 1640]. Wee Crossed another River named Noga [Nogat], where the Ferry boate was drawne over by a Haulser made of Willowes, beeing 105 Fathom in lengthe, which was Fastned thwart the River From side to side; soe came to Elbing, a strong and a reasonable handsomely contrived towne, where [blank] yeares Since was held the Staple[3] For our English East countries Merchantts, butt From thence remooved to Dantzig[4]. Itt was lately taken by the Sweden [*sic*] and after surrendred to the king of Poland[5]. Beetweene Dantzig hither, a plaine Fertill Country, allthough low and Somwhatt Marshy; to day aboutt 28 Miles.

The 26th [*September* 1640]. I tooke passage on a Smacke For Coningsberg [Königsberg]. Thatt evening wee lay by a place Named the Bulwarke[6], aboutt 2 miles below the towne,

[1] Danzig, Dantsic (Pol. *Gdansk*), is not actually on the Weichsel (Vistula), but lies near the influx of the Mottlau and Radaune into that river, 3 miles from the open (Baltic) Sea.

[2] Crooh (Du. *kroeg*, Ger. *Krug*, Dan. *kro*), a wayside inn, alehouse, tavern. Mundy has a detailed description of these rough country inns later on in this Relation.

[3] Mundy is using the term "staple" (O.F. *estaple*, emporium) in its obsolete sense of a factory or authorised place of trade for merchants in a foreign country.

[4] The English staple at Elbing was declared dissolved by Sigismund III, King of Poland in 1616. Negotiations for removing the trade to Danzig were entered into in 1627 and an agreement was reached in 1631, broken off in 1633, and again resumed before Mundy's visit. See Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs*, I. 243, 297, 400–1; II. 87.

[5] In the course of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) Gustavus Adolphus conquered Eastern Prussia in 1626, when Elbing and other towns capitulated without resistance. See Löschin, *op. cit.*, I. 316; Freeman, *Hist. Geog. of Europe*, p. 572 See also Olearius, p. 30, for the fortification of Elbing at this period.

[6] Mundy went by water from Elbing down the Sorga River 2 miles to the Bollwerk or Embankment on the Frisches Haff.

in a Faire New Crew, or Inne, built by Mr Thomas Slokomb, an Englishman, and unto him aperteyning[1].

Koninxberg.

The 27th [*September* 1640]. Wee sett saile with a strong westerly wind, soe thatt in 8 howers wee arrived att Coninxberg, some 48 Miles by computation.

The Marquis of Brandenbourg.

Here the Marquis [Margrave, Markgraf] of Brandenbourg keepes his Court in a large Castle in the Citty[2]. Hee is of greatt Titles, as Duke of Prussia, etts., and of large Dominions, allthough Now Most part taken From him by his Brother in law, the king of Sweden, who Married this Dukes Sister; and this Duke Married the Palsgraves [Pfalzgraf, Count Palatine's] sister, who Married the king of Englands sister[1], etts.

[1] No trace has been found of this individual.

[2] Königsberg was divided into three towns or boroughs, Altstadt or Königsberg proper, Lobenicht or the Neustadt, and Kneiphof, all on an island of the Pregel called the Vogtwerder. The castle stands in the Lobenicht quarter where the Margraves of Brandenburg held their court as Dukes of Prussia. See Zeiler, *op. cit.*, p. 514. In support of Mundy's spelling of the name of Königsberg as Coningsberg, Koninxberg, P. Cluverus, *Geographia*, 1682, p. 104, says: "Ducalis Borussiæ caput ac sedes Ducum est Regius mons, vulgò Germ. Koningsberg, Pol. Krolewic."

[3] These few words involve an enquiry into much of the European history of Mundy's day.

Georg Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg (1595–1640), son of the Elector Johann Sigismund, and heir to the Mark of Brandenburg, the land of Cleves, as well as to the claims of his house to the Duchy of Pomerania, became also Duke of Prussia on the death of his mother's father, Albrecht Friedrich.

His mother, Anna, an ardent Lutheran (whilst his father the Elector and he himself were Calvinists), had betrothed her daughter Marie Eleonore to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, without her son's knowledge; and had thus sought to bring the Duchy of Prussia and the Rhineland under the rule of Lutheran princes.

On the outbreak of war in Bohemia (1618), the Elector Georg Wilhelm, as a member of the Protestant League, espoused the cause of his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, whose sister, Elizabeth Charlotte, he had married. The Elector Palatine was Frederick V, King of Bohemia elect, and husband of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England and sister of Charles I. On the dispossession of the Elector Palatine, Georg Wilhelm failed to join the proposed new Union of Northern

This Citty is accompted larger then Dantzick within the walls[1], allthough Not alltogether soe well Fortified Nor built, having Much wast ground, gardeins, husbandry, etts. within itts walles aforesaid.

Wainscott, Clopboard, etts.

Here is the greatest trade For oake tymber thatt I thinck is in all those Countries, *viz.*, beames, wainescott, Clapboard[2], etts., For there lay such a Number off piles of them on both sides of the River comming uppe to the Citty etts. [and other parts] adjoyning, thatt I conceave, were they laid together, itt would take uppe a square off Neare ½ an English Mile, which would bee 2 Mile aboutt[3], and uppon 15 or 16

Protestant Powers, and remained neutral when the King of Denmark invaded Germany.

His attitude in the Thirty Years' War, at once vacillating and favourable to the Emperor, brought great trouble upon his land. He allowed the Imperialist General Wallenstein to take up his quarters in Brandenburg and refused his support to his brother-in-law, Gustavus Adolphus, when the latter, in 1630, in response to appeals for help from the hard-pressed Protestants, having concluded a truce with Poland, began his contest with the Empire by a successful campaign in Pomerania.

Further, the Swedish King's plans to relieve Magdeburg were frustrated by the jealous suspicions of his brother-in-law Georg Wilhelm. The latter at last, constrained by threats, concluded an alliance with Sweden in 1631, but took a very feeble part in the war, and made a separate peace with the Emperor in 1635. This led to the occupation and devastation of the land by the Swedes, and to Georg Wilhelm's retirement from the Mark to Königsberg, where he died in the same year that Mundy visited that city, as noted later on in this Relation. See Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexikon*, and Meyers, *Konv.-Lexikon*, under the respective names of those mentioned above.

[1] The area of Danzig *c.* 1626 was said to be about 2 *stunden* (leagues) in circumference or about 6 English miles, while that of Königsberg was 2 German miles and 260 paces around the walls, or about 10 English miles. But whilst the measurement of Königsberg included the suburbs and 14 liberties, many gardens and the large castle lake, the 9 suburbs of Danzig were not reckoned in its extent. Faber, *Die Haupt- und Residenz-Stadt Königsberg*, pp. 139-140. *The Particular Description of Dantzick* (1734), p. 8, gives the extent of the city and suburbs as 8 English miles.

[2] Clapboard, an obsolete term for a small size of split oak imported from N. Germany and used by coopers for making barrel staves, in later times also for wainscoting.

[3] That is, 2 miles round. A mile square would be 4 miles round, therefore "a square off Neare ½ an English Mile" would be "2 Mile aboutt [round]."

Foote high, which is an incredible quantity. Itt commeth downe From the Country, where are vast woods off oaks, pine, etts. This place affoards allsoe greatt store off hemp, Flax.

The exchange and bridge.

Here is a pretty exchange, Finely painted over head with Morall Emblemes in Compartments[1], standing on the River [Pregel] and adjoyning to a Faire bridge, part therof in Faire weather Serving For part of the exchange[2]; a pretty prospective place[3] every way. The bridge may bee compared to thatt att Weymouth, as well For its use as For matter and Forme[4]. The Citty standeth on a rising ground and the Castle much elevated above the rest in scituation.

The Hoffe [Haff].

Our sailing beetweene Elbing and this place was alongst the Haffe, a water soe called, in Manner of a Lake, whereinto Falleth sundry Rivers, as a branch off the Weecell, [blank], Preil [Pregel], etts., bounded withoutt with a very long and narrow tract of land, with an entrance thereto att the Peelo [Pillau], where greatt shippes Must passe that are bound hither to Elbing etts. places lying within the Haffe aforesaid, allthough smalle vessells may com by Dantzig upp the River Weecell, and soe downe another branch of the same which runneth into the said Haffe, Making the said tract of land as

[1] The old Exchange or "Börsengebäude," in the Kneiphof, near the "Grüne Brücke" stood on piles over the river Pregel. It was built in 1624 and decorated with many statues and carvings. The ceiling was painted by Gregor Singknecht, a Dutch artist, in 60 compartments, with allegories and verses. During the extensive repairs to the Börse in 1729, these pictures were repainted and the verses effaced (Faber, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

[2] The Grüne or Langgassenbrücke (the bridge which connected the Kneiphof with its suburb) still exists; and the space once occupied by the Garden extending from the Bollwerk of the Pregel to the Börse, where the merchants assembled in summer, could still be traced in 1840 (*ibid.*, pp. 51, 84).

[3] "Prospective" is used in its obsolete meaning of fitted to afford a fine prospect or extensive view: hence, elevated, lofty.

[4] Mundy visited Weymouth in 1634 in a "lobster boat" and has several remarks about it (see vol. III. pp. 4, 7, &c.), but he does not describe the bridge.

Farre as the Peeloo an Iland, called the Naring[1]. Wee passed by sundry townes lying on the Mayn, as Frawenberg [Frauenburg], Browneberg [Braunsberg], Brandenburg, etts.

Wild duckes: Tame geese: A comparison beetweene Flocks of geese and Flocks of sheepe.

I never in my liffe att once saw greater quantity off any sort off Fowle as here were of wild ducks alongst the shoare by the Naring afforesaid, Their seeming to Fill the aire and cover the sea thereaboutts. From whence, itt seemes, in winter, this place and all ponds in these parts beeing Frozen uppe, they repaire to warmer Countries, as England, etts. For a season, and soe returne againe. Allsoe a wonderfull Number of Tame geese beetweene Dantzig and Elbing, it beeing a trade, by report, in these Countries For many to keepe thousands of them For their proffitt, as with us Flockes of sheepe, as the one For their Flesh and wooll, soe the other For Food and Feathers, both having keepers and both Feeding on grasse. Soe Farre they may bee compared together, butt nott any way in the beneffitt and service For the use of Man, the Former not to bee regarded in respect of the latter.

A walke in to the Country.

The 29th September [1640]. I wentt uppe into the Country unto a towne called Weelaw [Wehlau], some 30 English Miles[2]; all the way excellent land, For the Most partt tillage. I conceave thatt in this Countrie thers [*sic*] is 7 tymes as much corne sowen and reaped as is eaten by the inhabitants; the rest transported to other Countries, as Holland, etts.

[1] Elbing lies at the Western, and Königsberg at the Eastern, end of the Frisches Haff, a long narrow backwater of the Baltic with a very narrow entrance at Pillau. Into this fall the Nogat River, a mouth of the Weichsel or Vistula, the Sorga near Elbing, the Passarge near Braunsberg, and the Pregel (Mundy's Preil) near Königsberg. Boats and small vessels can go up the Nogat to its junction with the Weichsel (Vistula) and thence down to Danzig. The long and very narrow tract of land on the North of the Haff is called the Frische Nehrung. It is a peninsula, not an island, as Mundy says.

[2] If Mundy walked from Königsberg along the Pregel to Wehlau, at the junction of the Alle, in one day he must have been a fine walker.

Slotts or Castles.

On the way were 2 or 3 spatious walled buildings, called slotts [Ger. *Schloss*] or Castles, resembling some off our gentlemens houses in England.

In whatt this country is compared with Moscovia.

The Ordinary buildings here in the Country, as allsoe the Comodities, agreeing with Moscovia [*i.e.* Russia], as by report of those that had bin ther. The former [*i.e.* the buildings] off greatt pines sawen in 2 or 3 parts long waies and soe laid one on the other, the ends inlaid one with the other, Caulked betweene with Mosse[1]. For the latter, hemp, Flax, Pitch, tarre, etts., there being a province Not above [blank] Miles hence Named Russia; butt there may bee more countries of thatt Name[2]. Yett doth the king of Polands dominion Joine with the Moscovite[3].

I mett in my way 6 or 700 smalle Carts laden with graine, Flax, etts. comodities, comming from Poland, Littuania, Russia, which are here bordring, the poore Carters, Litous[4], Russes, etts., dressing their Meatt in the Feild while their horses graze after the Manner off East India.

Topia and Weelaw, 2 countr[i]e townes lying on the River Preile [Pregel].

Within 6 miles of Weelaw is a smalle towne called Topia [Tapiau]. Weelaw itt selffe a place of No great consequence and this much lesse. Soe the Next day returned againe to Conninxberg; great Floates of tymber driving downe the streame, which is the ordinary way of Transportation off Timber, wood, etts., From the Country alofftt.

[1] Mundy is describing log-houses, which were new to him.

[2] By this remark Mundy may be alluding to the fact that the ruler of Russia in his day, Mikhail Romanoff, was then called the Tsar of All the Russias.

[3] There is a marginal note here: "Russia Near hand." The Province of Poland called Czervonaya Russ, *i.e.* Golden Russ, the old (1568–1689) name for Galicia, lying in 48° to 52° N. Lat. and 39° to 43° E. Long., was bounded by Little Poland and Polesia on the N.W. and N., Volhynia and Podolia on the East, Moldavia on the South and Hungary on the West. See Spruner-Menke, *Hand-Atlas*, &c.

[4] By "Litou" is meant Litva, a Lithuanian.

A Boome, what it is.

The 6th October [1640]. I tooke passage on a Smacke For Dantzigk againe. Thatt Night wee lay att the Boome, which signiffies a tree; butt here it is Meant of certaine greatt Masts or tymbers to bee drawne thwart off Rivers, Channells, etts., in the Nightt or att any tyme elce, as occasion shall require, to debarr the passage of vessells, boates, etts.[1]

The Haffe: Proffitable water.

The 7th [*October* 1640]. Wee sailed backe through the Haffe[2] and came to one off the Mouthes off the Weesell [Weichsel, Vistula], som 54 Miles. This Haffe, by report, For the quantity off itts extentt affoards More beneffitt by Fish then any other peece off land off the like dimension in the Country can yeild otherwise (buildings exc[epted]). Som 10 or 12 Miles uppe the River [mouth of the Weichsel] is deepe water For a good space, where att the Spring of the yeare is Much sturgeon taken. That night wee lay in a Crew [inn] after the accustomed Manner.

The 8th [*October* 1640]. Wee came some 10 Miles Farther upp and lodged in a Crew allsoe.

The Hefft.

The 9th October [1640]. Our Catche [ketch] or smacke was wayed [warped] over a shelff or banck with Capstaines; and 2 Miles Farther wee came to a Fortt on a point, called the Hefft. Here the Weesell divides itt selffe, the one part where wee came uppe, and the other runs downe by Dantzigke, having hitherto in the one branche sett and sayled against the Currantt[3].

[1] A boom (Du. *boom*, Ger. *Baum*, tree, beam), in the sense of a barrier at the mouth of a harbour, seems to have been new to Mundy and to the world in general in his time, since the earliest quotation for the term in the *O.E.D.* is 1645.

[2] *Haf, havet* is Scandinavian for sea. There are several Haffs on the modern German Baltic Coast, *e.g.* the Haff by Stettin, the Frisches Haff by Danzig and Königsberg, and the Kurisches Haff by Memel.

[3] Mundy is not at all easy to follow here, as the face of the country has changed since his time, but he seems to have sailed along the Frisches Haff to its Western extremity beyond the mouth of the Nogat. There he spent the night of the 7th October in an inn at a mouth of the Weichsel

Polish Cranes [*sic*][1] or cornelighters.

Butt having doubled the point, wee went downe the streame, where wee mett comming uppe against [it] some Polish Canes which are certain lighters which come from the Countrie with Corne. They were returning, butt having the streame to strive against all the way, they must have either a very Faire wind and a good gale to stemme it, or must sett [pole] itt uppe sometymes For 30 or 40 daies together with greatt labour, as these wer doing with 10 and 12 poles off a side, keeping an order and decorum by a watche word or Cheare to lifft their poles and to sett onward att once, keeping tyme as in rowing, allthough in a longer proportion, beeginning Forward on.

Thatt evening late wee came to Dantzigke, aboutt 12 miles From the Hefft abovesaid. As For the Number of Miles from place to place, it is as I have it From those with whom I travelle, butt they are variable sometymes, a Dutch Mile butt 3 English, allthough ordinarily they ar 4 in my opinion[2], as they ought to bee. And soe for the computation off other places.

A Journey to Thorne, December 1640.

The 24th current. I departed in a waggon towards Thorun. Thatt Nightt wee lay att Shenewarrincke, som 12 miles

The 25th att Osterwitts	24
The 26th by Grodinske	14
The 27th to Scompe	21
The 28th to Thorun	12
	83

(Vistula). Next day he went 10 miles up it as far as a point near what is now Neuminsterberg, which he reached on the 9th, and 2 miles further he came to what is now Fürstenwerder. Here the Weichsel divides itself into two rivers at the Danziger Haupt, which he calls the Hefft, one part going towards Danzig. Along this he went and reached Danzig that night.

[1] "Cranes" is evidently a clerical error for "Canes" (Ger. *Kahn*, a boat, wherry) as written in the description which follows.

Mr Malcolm Letts remarks: "The use of the word 'crane' is interesting in connection with the cornlighters. There was a very famous Crane at Danzig, used for unloading boats, almost as famous as the one at Bruges, and Mundy having it fresh in his mind may have used the word unconsciously."

[2] See *ante*, note on p. 52.

Newingburg, Grodinscke, Colmesey.

Aboutt 40 miles in our way wee passed by a smalle Citty called Meue, leaving itt some 2 Miles on our lefft hand. Aboutt 8 miles Farther is Newinburg, another Smalle Citty, tho of noe greatt Note, and 8 miles beeyond thatt againe is Grodinske, a handsome Citty, 16 miles beeyond which is Colmesey. This affarre offe promiseth much by sundry high spires, Fabricks off Churches, etts., butt generally within poore, low, unhandsome base buildings, even soe many boore [peasants'] houses enclosed together[1].

Woods and Lakes.

The first halffe of the way betweene Dantzigk and Thorun plaine arable or tillage land, the other halffe in like Manner, butt with some woods and ponds or lakes, with which by report this Country abounds[2], From whence accrewes greate beneffitt to the Lords or some perticuler great ones off the Land, As by timber, tarre, pottashes, etts., From the Former, And by Fish From the Latter.

Extreame Cold.

The 25tt afforementioned [*December* 1640]. Wee were on our way aboutt 6 houres before day, when I Feltt the greatest

[1] Mundy's journey from Danzig to Thorn was by road, crossing the Weichsel at Graudenz. His distances are roughly correct, but not strictly accurate, which is hardly surprising, as, from what he says below, he was not in a condition to make careful observations. The whole distance from Danzig to Thorn (Torun) is about 95, instead of 83, miles as given by him. See Zeiler, *Itin. Germ. Contin.*, p. 512.

Mundy's place-names may be identified thus: Shenewarinke as Schönwarling, north of Dirschau; Osterwitts as Osterwitt, a small village; Grodinske as Graudenz (Pol. Grudziadz); Scompe as Skompe, near Kulmsee; and Thorun as Thorn (Pol. Torun).

Mundy's Meue is Mewe on the Weichsel; Newingburg is Neuenburg (Pol. Nove); Colmesey is Kulmsee (Pol. Chelmza).

Bargrave, who travelled in the opposite direction in December 1652, has remarks on Kulmsee and Graudenz (*MS. Rawl. C.* 799, fol. 75): "Culmzè, a small old Towne, ten miles beyond it [Thorn]...Grudèns, upon the Wesil, a neat City guarded by a strong Wall and a Trench."

[2] Bargrave remarks on the country beyond Graudenz towards Danzig (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*): "We travell'd through a large Plaine of extraordinary fertile land...reaching to the City Novemiasto [Mundy's Newingburg (Neuenburg)], smartly walled and Trenched."

cold thatt ever I did in my liffe. Wee then travelled against the winde, which caused my eies to water (teares are brinish), which soe congealed thatt I had Iscicles hung on my eielids as bigge as pease. I tied a cloath over my Face, butt within a little space itt beecame as hard as pastboard. The cold Meeting with my moist breath caused it to Freese in thatt Manner thatt itt stucke to my beard, upper and Neither [above and below], having Much adoe to keepe itt Free, which hanguing full of Isicles, as allsoe Many under my Chynne Nere my throate, off which I felt the paine long after. My nose was soe benummed For awhile thatt I could Nott well tell whither I had one or Noe; butt itt came to itts selffe againe, allthough in 5 or 6 daies after the skynne came quite offe. I mightt have had a Mischance [injury, mutilation] (perhapps), had not it beene prevented in tyme. It was a Month ere I had the rightt use of one off My Fingers. Another experiment allsoe I tried, [but] beecause hardly to bee beleived withoutt triall, I will here omitt[1]. Some may say itt was Nott such cold weather as att other tymes happens. I graunt it. But itt was my owne Faultt. Beeing unexperienced with the Nature off these sorts [of] colds, I Made No provision For prevention, thincking if I could endure the sharpenesse therof (which I did strive to doe), itt were enough. Another tyme, should it bee Farr colder, itt should Not soe much Trouble Mee, beecause I would rather seeke to avoide and shroud my selff from itts rigor then thincke to outtface itt as I did. On the way, Horses Noses and mens beards hang dangling with Isicles; our Meat and Drinck Frozen in the wagon. Itt was the coldest day thatt had bin yett this year. Greatt difference beetweene travelling here in winter and in East India in summer; allthough contrary, yett both bad, the one for Cold and Frost, the other For heatt and dust.

Strange effectts of Cold.

Here are strange relationes of the effectts of Cold, having

[1] It is a pity that he did omit it, however. He may be referring to the habit of rubbing the nose with snow to prevent frostbite, as he speaks of the "mischance" having been prevented.

spoken with those who were eyewittnesses to some, *viz.*, thatt some yeares not long since, Men and Weomen travelling in open Cullasses[1], wagons, etts., have bin Frozen dead, sitting as though they slept. Countrymen comming on sleades laden with wood have bin drawne in to the Markett place by their horses when themselves have bin frozen stiffe starcke dead, still holding the bridle or Raynes in their hands, standing or sitting as alive guiding their horses. Others have bin brought in soe on horsebacke, their stiffe benummed lymmes keeping them Fast in the Saddle. A souldier standing Centinell with his Muskett on his rest hath bin Found in thatt posture, starcke dead and stiffe with cold. These are common reports. Itt is said thatt the cold, benumming and quenching the Naturall heatt, causes a slumber to come uppon them and soe deprives them of liffe.

Thorun.

Thorun [Thorn] is a well contrived Citty and a pleasant place, Seated on the River Weessell [Weichsel, Vistula], walled round, Full off Turretts, 9 or 10 gates, Faire large straightt streetes, the best Councell house in all this Country, somwhatt resembling an exchange, very large and high, 4 square, a space in the Middle, a lofty costly tower to itt[2]. Over the River is a wodden bridge off near $\frac{1}{4}$ off a Mile in length, under some part wherof itt is said itt Never Freezes, For great watters, especially running Rivers, will in one

[1] Cullasse, Russ. *kolyaska* and Pol. *kolaska*, a light carriage with low wheels, whence calash, *calèche*, etc., but the form *calèche* was not then in general use, since the earliest quotation in the *O.E.D.* is 1666.

[2] The reconstruction and embellishment of the fine Rathaus at Thorn was begun in 1603 at great cost, and at that time it contained such stately rooms, and was adorned with such noble gables and towers, that it could compete with the finest Council houses in Europe. It was gutted by fire in 1703. See Wernicke, *Geschichte Thorns*, Bd. 1, pp. 227–8, 381. Bargrave, fol. 75, has the following description of Thorn in 1652: "A neat compact City invirond with a strong wall, workes and trench. The buildings are very faire and uniforme, of fower and five Stories high. In the midst of the Towne is the Stadthouse, so vast an Ædifice, it is voted enough capacious for fower Princes with theyr Retinue." The earliest portion of the Rathaus, which is still standing, was erected in the 13th century, and the building was added to in the 14th and 16th centuries.

place or other have an opening, as itt were a respiration[1]. I went over the said bridge unto a smalle Polish towne named Potsgarre [Podgorz]. Note thatt over the River is properly termed Poland or Polonia[2].

A greatt Faire.

In this place and now att this tyme is kept the greatest Mart or Faire thatt is held in all these partts, resorted unto From Farre, as Germany, Turkey, Italy, etts. Itt lasteth aboutt 15 daies[3]. Here were many ritche and wellffurnished shoppes of Scotts, There beeing Many 100 (I may say 1000) Families off that Nation inhabitants off this land. Noe Citty or towne off Note withoutt some, generally dealing in Merchandize For More or lesse. Many handicraffts, these quarters abounding with them, as Holland etts [and other] low Countries with English[4]. Allsoe here were shoppes off Armenians, Dutch, French, Poles, with sundry commodityes, and a great Number of Jewes now permitted att the Faire

[1] See Relation XXXV for an illustration and full description of the Bridge.

[2] Mundy means that Thorn, though strictly speaking not in Poland, was under Polish rule. Bargrave expresses himself more clearly (*op. cit.*, fol. 74): "It [Torne (Thorn)] is the Metropolis of Prussia, severed from Poland by a small Gutture Streame short of the Bridge, but is under the powre of Poland and in the Kings Title."

[3] Mundy is describing the Epiphany Fair at Thorn, and his mention of its length is especially interesting, since it ordinarily lasted only eight days, but by a decree of the King of Poland in 1640 the time was extended to a fortnight. At this period there were three annual fairs at Thorn, the first held at Epiphany, the second beginning on Rogation Saturday and the third on the 14th September. These fairs were visited by merchants from all parts of the world. See Wernicke, *Geschichte Thorns*, Bd. I, and Bd. II. 260.

In the middle of his description of the Fair at Thorn, Mundy has interpolated the following remark, which is correct: "Note thatt Venice and Amsterdam are From hence Near uppon an equall distance, *viz.* beetweene 6 and 700 Miles English by land."

[4] All trading in Poland being carried on by Jews and foreigners, that country was an attractive one to the enterprising Scot, and Scotch emigration to Poland was large, most of the emigrants becoming pedlars. They paid a poll-tax as did the Jews and Gipsies, and early in the 17th century had formed themselves into a large guild (*Brüderschaft*) and had obtained the rights of citizenship. They held their meetings on each fair-day, and a general court of appeal met at Thorn on the Feast of Epiphany. See Fischer, *Scots in Germany*, pp. 31–9. See also *infra*, Relation XXXV, for further remarks by Mundy on Scots and Jews in Poland.

tyme; otherwise Not suffred to dwell in this Citty, Nor in Dantzicke, butt on such occasions; Most of their dealing here in Furres; in outtward appearance unffittly and unseemely Cladde, supposed in Policy, beecause the Pole perhapps would pole them if they Made greatt shew off Ritches[1].

As in Dantzicke, the generall speech is high Dutch [German], and here and there a little Polish, soe in this place to the contrary. For the common Speech is Polish, and butt little Dutch, and thatt For the Most part by the better sort. Some 20 or 30 Miles on this side Dantzig the Country people speake Dutch [*i.e.* German], butt Farther uppe toward Thorne, Polish[2].

The 7th January [1640/41]. I retourned towards Dantzig by the same way I came Forth, in a Callais, which is a kind off an open Coache[3]; and the 9th ditto I arrived there.

Note thatt in these parts No labouring the ground For Many Monthes together by reason of Frost and hard weather, Nor No cattle Feeding in the Feild: all housed and keptt in stalles, Feeding on dry Meatt[4], as hey, straw, etts. A hard winter and long, as I am told, which I am now bound to see.

[1] In 1602 the Jews were forbidden all trade and intercourse at Thorn. But they were still the chief frequenters at Fairs, where they paid special fees. The passes (*Geleitsertheilungen*) to Jews were a perquisite of the Burggrave of Thorn. See Wernicke, *op. cit.*, Bd. II. 245, 267: *Jewish Encyclopaedia, s.v.* Fairs.

Mundy's pun is on an obsolete form of the word poll, in the sense of to pay as a poll-tax; and the meaning is, "the Pole" perhaps would plunder them by excessive taxation if they "Made greatt shew off Ritches."

[2] Mundy means that in the neighbourhood of Danzig and some 20 or 30 miles Southward the common language was German, while nearer Thorn it was Polish. Bargrave also (*op. cit.*, fol. 75) speaks of the country south of Danzig as being "inhabited by Hollanders [Germans]."

Edward Browne (*Travels*, p. 174), remarked, when he reached Magdeburg in 1668, "I had now left the pure German Language behind me, for at Magdeburg comes in another kind of German, called Plat-Deutch, Broad-Dutch, Nidersachsische, or Language of lower Saxony: a great Language spoken in the North part of Germany. They speak it at Hamburg, Dantzick, Lubeck, and many great Cities, but they can converse with the other High-Dutch, and with some difficulty also with the Netherlanders; the one speaking in his language and the other replying in his."

[3] See *ante*, note on Cullasse, p. 99.

[4] Mundy, as a West countryman, is using "meat" in the sense of food generally.

A Journey to Coninxberg over the Ice, January A.D. 1640 [1640/1].

The 29th Currantt I departed againe towards Coningsberg. First to Gantts Crooe[1], Near Dantzicke, where wee Tooke slead and wentt on the Weesell to Cotosste[2], where we lodged, aboutt ... ... Miles 11

The 30th [*January* 1640/1]. We dined att Stotehoffte [Statthof], itt beeing the same way which Formerly I had com by water ... ... Miles 16

From thence to Armell Crooe[3], where wee lodged ... ... Miles 20

The 31th [*January* 1640/1]. Wee wentt over the Middle of the Hoffe to Coliholt[4], where wee baited, aboutt 16 Miles, and From thence to Conninxberg, 16 Miles More ... ... Miles 32

79

Att Comming Forth of the Weesell, one of our sleads brake in through the Ice, but No hurtt, by reason itt happned on a shelffe or bancke Att [blank][5].

In the Morning when wee sett Forth From Armell Crew, wee missed on[e] of our company, whome having Soughtt For 2 houres all there aboutts and Not Finding hem [*sic*], wee came away withoutt him, giving him For lost, and brought away with us such things as hee had in the slead, supposing thatt hee himselff mightt in the Nightt have Fallen in to the water through some whole in the Ice. Hee was a yong Man and a stranger unto us all. Butt in conclusion, the 3d day after, hee came to Conningsberg and told Mee in

[1] Gantts Crooe, *i.e.*, Gans Krug or the Goose Inn. It was a famous Inn on the Weichsel, on the road to the Schottland suburb of Danzig. When Peter the Great and his consort visited the city in 1716, they put up at the Ganskrug on their first arrival. In the 18th century the Prussian authorities sought to oblige the Polish vessels to discharge their cargoes here, and thus aroused intense opposition in Danzig. See Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs*, II. 127.

[2] Kotteskrug, opposite Bohnsack.

[3] "Armell Crooh" (?) Aermel Krug, the Sleeve Inn, at Frauenburg.

[4] Kahlholz, on the cape on the south bank of the Frisches Haff, opposite Pillau.

[5] Mundy must have crossed the mouth of the Weichsel at Bohnsack.

French thatt in the night, with the heatt of the stove and the people, with the helpe of drincke, hee was taken with a fainting or Swowning and going Forth to take the aire, hee fell, hee knew not how himselff, under a tree, where he remayned till 10 of the clocke thatt Morning. Hee having spent some yeares in travelling to and Fro, as in France, Germany, etts., this accidentt strooke some apprehension into my selffe, seeing how easily a stranger may bee lost and Not knowne whatt beecame off him, My presentt Case Not Much differing From his.

In this Journey wee wentt aboutt 77 Miles on the Ice, *viz.*, From ½ mile of Dantzigk to within 2 Miles off Coninxberg. The Farther of[f] the shoare the better [travelling]; Soe thatt wee were almost as Cautious to com Near the shoare for feare of water, Allthough wee were on the water, as sometymes shippes att sea are of comming to[o] Near the land For fear off rocks and sands, beecause thatt Now Near the shoare were certaine openings here and there More then ordinary, by Reason of the late greatt thaw. The Ice now, Nor att Most, nott ½ a yard thicke, supported by the water, lying theron as on a bedd.

Pleasauntt, easy and speedy travelling.

Speedy, pleasantt, easie travelling att present, beecause off a little Frost againe on the thaw, soe thatt the Ice was as sleeke as glasse, hardly now to bee gon uppon on Foote, butt For that purpose Men have certaine straps with Nailes in them tied to the soles of their shooes. Aboutt Dantzig I have seene them slide with a woodden Invention, having as it were an Iron keele, wherwith they will, with little labour, slide away 5 or 6 miles in an hower[1]. This our Manner off travelling to bee compared with thatt in Holland by boat, For ease and speed, as afforesaid, sleads traversing to and Fro over

[1] Skates (Du. *schaats*) were evidently new to Mundy in 1640, and though the art of skating dates from an early period in England, it was new also to Pepys in 1662. "December 1 [1662], Over the Parke, when I first in my life, it being a great frost, did see people sliding with their skeates, which is very pretty art" (*Diary*, ed. Braybrooke, p. 129). The word "skate" seems not to have reached England at the time Mundy wrote, for the earliest quotation in the *O.E.D.* is 1645.

this Frozen Sea as Freely as boates doe att other tymes, and appear to sight No otherwise then soe many vessells att Sea; divers companies off Fishermen here and there doing their businesse, drawing their Netts withoutt boates, seeming to walke on the water a mile or two from land.

Two generall Cracks wee Mett withall, aboutt the Middle of the Haffe, which ran on either side as Farre as wee could discerne. Such they say there willbee on this water, lett itt Freeze never soe hard, the Nature and secrett working therof seeking and desiring respiration, breath or aire, as they terme itt[1], is in some places 9 or 10 miles broad and 4 or 5 att the Narrowest. When wee came to the Mouth of the River Preile [Pregel], wee went aboutt 2 mile on land, by reason the River was bad to slead on, the goods being laden on carts.

A Barretone, an Instrumentt of Musicke.

Att my beeing here in Coninxberg I spake with one Mr Walter Row[2], an Englishman, cheiffe Musitien to the Marquis of Brandenburge, by whome I was Freindly enterteyned. Among the rest of his Instrumenttts hee had one Named a Barretone[3], itt beeing a base violl with an addition of Many wire strings, which run From end to end under the Finger board, through the F belly of the Instrumentt, which are to bee strucke with the thumbe off the stopping hand: very Musicall, and concordantt with the violl, like 2 Instrumentts att once, the playing on the one beeing No hinderance to the other. Itt had allso sundry other wire strings aboutt the

[1] Mundy seems to be giving the reason of cracks in the ice, as supplied to him by his fellow-travellers. The probable cause, however, of the cracks he saw in the Frisches Haff was the tide, pressing the ice outward as it flowed and allowing it to sag and crack as it ebbed, or perhaps the movement of a current beneath the ice.

[2] Walter Rowe. There were two musicians of the name connected with the Court of Brandenburg at this period. It seems probable that Mundy is referring to "Walter Rowe junior" who is mentioned as a violinist in 1623 and in 1641, and is described as "a celebrated musician." He appears to have died in 1671. See Eitner, *Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker*, etc., Bd. 8.

[3] Barytone, a musical instrument of deep sound, resembling a bass viol, now obsolete. In Grove's *Musical Dictionary* it is defined as "the name usually applied to the smaller bass saxhorn in B flat or C." The earliest quotation for this instrument in the *O.E.D.* is 1685.

head and by the Finger board; butt these and the violl cannott both bee plaide att once, beecause they Must bee strucke with the playing hand, soe thatt they answear one another very harmoniously. In Fine, a very costly Faire Instrumentt, and sweet solemne Musicke.

Here was att presentt a sadde court, partly through the late death of the late Marquis, who died since my last beeing here, partly through the sicknesse off the yong Marquis his Sonne, and partly expectation of troubles to his estate thatt is lefft, by some pretences [claims] off the king of Poland[1].

Brandenburg.

The 6th February Anno 1640 [1640/1]. I Retourned towards Dantzigk againe by Land. First wee came to Brandenburg, a ragged place (butt there is a Lordly Castle or Mansion)[2], where wee dyned, some 13 Miles From Conninxberg; From thence 4 Miles Farther to Petershore [Patersort], where wee lodged in a Crooh: in all ... ... Miles 17

The 7th [*February* 1640/1]. Wee came to Heiligenbeele [Heiligenbeil], a pretty citty ... Miles 13
From thence to Brownsberg [Braunsberg], a little strong Citty, 8 [miles], and from thence to Frawenberg [Frauenburg][3], a pretty place, 5 Miles, where wee lodged ... ... Miles 13

[1] See *ante*, p. 90 and note 3. The Elector and his son fell ill after dining with Schwarzenberg, an Ex-Minister, and both fled from the Mark to Königsberg, where Georg Wilhelm died on the 1st Dec. 1640. The "young Marquis," Friedrich Wilhelm, for some time showed serious symptoms of poisoning and mental disorder. The "troubles" referred to by Mundy relate to the Thirty Years' War and were the rumours that the Poles were intending to curtail the rights of the new Elector over Prussia. Immediately on his recovery, therefore, he negotiated an armistice with Sweden, in order to free his hand, but he was nevertheless forced to accept the hard conditions imposed by Poland for the grant of Brandenburg as a Polish fief. Friedrich Wilhelm was later known to history as the "Great Elector" and the founder of the Brandenburg Prussian State. See Küster, *Das ruhmwürdige Jugendleben des Grossen Kurfürsten....In den Jahren* 1620 *bis* 1640, pp. 47–500.

[2] This Brandenburg is on the Frisching and the "Lordly Castle" is the Domäne founded in 1266 by the Teutonic Order, which later became Royal Prussian demesne.

[3] See *ante*, p. 93, for these two places.

The 8th [*February* 1640/1]. Wee crossed the Haffe on the Ice to Smeregrove [Schmergrube], 6 Miles; From thence to Voglesang [Vogelsang], 10 miles, and From thence to Coblegrove [Kobbelgrube], 6 Miles, where wee lodged in a Crooh Miles 22

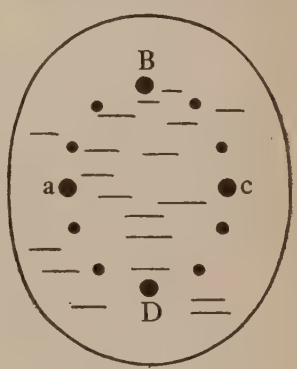
The 9th [*February* 1640/1]. To Nicholas Woolle [Nickelswalde] where wee baited ... Miles 9

Soe to Dantzigke... ... ... Miles 11

Miles 85

The Manner of Fishing in Frozen waters.

Att Brandenburg, aboutt 1½ Mile From the shoare[1], were many companies off Fishers att worcke on the Ice, which commonly is in this manner:



First the[y] Make 2 large holes through the Ice and beetween them compasse other lesser. Then att one of the great holes, Lettere a, they putt downe one end off their Nett, which with a pole, or Many Fastned together, Near 40 yards long, they convey From hole to hole on the side lettere B, till itt com to the other great opening at lettere c. And soe they doe with the other end off the Nett, *viz.*, letting itt down by letter a, conveying it aboutt by letter D, till itt com to letter c afforesaid, where they [*sic*, the] Nett is drawen uppe, which takes a great Compasse, it beeing aboutt [blank] Fathom in length and [blank] broad (as per the Figure abovesaid)[2].

[1] The place is still a fishing centre.

[2] The method of fishing described by Mundy, with a *Wintergarn* or *Stintgarn* (smelt-net), a great draw-net, is still used in the Baltic and on large lakes in winter, for catching smelts. Horses are often employed to draw the nets. See Meyers, *Konversations Lexikon, s.v.* Fischerei, *Fanggeräte.*

Greatt store of Chace, as deare, hares, wild Fowle, etts.

Att Heiligenbeele was a waggon wholy laden with Chace, as hares (whereof some Milke white), partridges, Barck-hens[1], etts. Off the latter the Cocke is blacke [black-cock] and the hen grey, as bigge as our ordinary hens, brought from Coninxberg (which is plentifully supplied therwith outt off Letou [Lithuania], Cooreland [Kurland], etts., adjoyning), and were going For Elbing, Cold weather and Frost preserving them long. Dantzicgk is allso Furnished with the like outt off Cassooben[2]; Many tymes dear, as buck and doe; sould by butchers, which here run att random, take them they thatt can.

An Eyland or Elke.

Att the house where the English resort to divine service (which is Cheiffly Sermons) in Dantzigk aforesaid was a beast hung uppe by the heeles, as tall and as bigge as a pretty [fair-sized] horse. Itt is called an Eiland [Du. *eland*, elk] wherof the best buff is Made, somwhatt resembling a dear, Cloven Footed, but shagged as a bear. This had no hornes.

Att Frawenburge is a stately Castlelike Church on a little hill[3].

Yellow Amber or Burmestene, where found.

Att Smeregrove [Schmergrube] I with others went to the other side of the Naring, aboutt ½ a mile over, where we came to the open [Baltic] sea, nott Frozen. Here on this strand, as allsoe most partts here aboutt is Found, gathered and gotten, great store off yellow ambar, which is cast Forth by the sea and beaten [thrown] ashore, Cheiffly in Summer, there beeing smalle peeces therof Now among the sand and gravell. Itt is here called Burmestene [Ger. *Bernstein*], to say, Fountayne stone, conceaved to bee bred thatt way[4].

[1] *Birkhenne*, the female of the *Birkhuhn* or black grouse, so called because it frequents birch woods (*Birkenwälder*) and feeds on birch shoots.

[2] See *ante*, note 1 on p. 88.

[3] The Cathedral (Dom Kirche) of Dom-Frauenburg, the seat of the Bishop of Ermeland and of a chapter, was founded in 1329 and contains the tomb of the astronomer Kopernikus. See Brockhaus, *Konvers.-Lex.* (1851).

[4] Mundy is at fault with his derivation here. Bernstein is derived from Low German *bernen* = *brennen*, to burn. In the Middle Ages it was used in powdered form for fumigation. Herders, *Konvers.-Lexikon*. See also Mundy's remark at the opening of the next paragraph of his text. Wun-

An opinion.

Itt much resembles Rosin in coullour and somwhatt in smell, beeing burned. Who knoweth whither it may not com From the Firretree off which Rosin is made and wherewith these countres abound. The said trees Falling into the water may, by the secrett working of the sea and operation of the sunne, produce that gumme. There is a patent [monopoly] graunted by the Lords of Dantzicgke (to whome this Iland [the Nehrung] beelongs) unto certaine perticulers [private individuals], and grevious punishmentts, penalties For any thatt shall bee knowne to gather itt, excepting such as are deputed by the Patentees[1].

Woods on the Naring, allsoe Burialls.

From Smeregrove afforesaid untill wee come to the Weesell by Dantzige, all the way on the Naring and through woods, Most pines, some Oakes, a Few inhabitantts on the shoare side towards the Haffe. In our way among the woods were heaps of Bushes, which (as I was told) was thatt someone or other beeing robbd and slaine, was there buried, and thatt passengers as they goe by itt, cutt bowes of trees, bushes, etts., and cast theron[2].

Wolves—Bees.

Here are some tymes wolves taken, though Nott Many. Allso store of bees breed in the holes of the pine trees,

derer, *Reise*, ed. Fichard, pp. 82–3, has a very interesting description (1588) of amber. See also Moryson, IV. 23.

[1] The Teutonic Knights had exploited the Amber monopoly to the full, and sold the spoils from the Amber fisheries to the Amber turneries. The Nehrung had been granted to the town of Danzig by the Polish King in 1454. Amber Courts were set up to prevent frauds. The dwellers on the shore had to take the Amber oath, *Bernstein-Eid*, and the hard conditions under which the work of fishing (*Schöpfen*), was carried on, led to the farming of the amber monopoly to Danzig merchants who extended the trade to India and Persia. This success induced the authorities again to take the monopoly in hand, and periods of farming and direct exploitation succeeded each other. The *Bernstein-Eid* was only done away with at the end of the 18th century. See Meyers, *Konvers.-Lex.*, *s.v.* Bernstein, *Geschichtliches*. See also Duisburg, *Versuch und historisch-topogr. Beschreibung Danzigs*, p. 416; Moryson, IV. 23.

[2] For allusions to "cairns" of brushwood in India, see *Panjab Notes and Queries*, II. No. 802, III. No. 15.

Cherished and looked unto by the inhabitants [who are in] generall Fishers.

Comming over the Weecell wee had some trouble, the River now bad to Ferry on, especially the borders. Att places of danger (as holes, etts.) on the said River, as allso on the Haffe, are poles sett uppe to give warning therof.

Croohes, Crewes, these countre Innes.

I have Now and then Mentioned Crooes or Crewes[1]. A Crooe is a certaine Inne on the high way, where is better entertaynement then in Turky Canes [*Khāns*][2], butt nothing Near soe good as in our English Innes. The[y] Cheiffly consist of 2 greatt romes, the one a large stable with 2 greatt gates to house horses, wagons, Coaches, etts., which att evenning come in att one gate and in the morning outt att the other, there beeing No Neede off turning; where they have very good provender, as hey, oates and litter[3]. The other Cheiff place is called a Stove [*Stube*], wherin is a Cackleoven [tiled stove], which warmes the said roome. The entertaynement and ordinary [customary fare] that here is to bee relied on are bread, beere, aquavity [*aqua vitae*, spirits] and lightt, and For our beddinge, Fresh straw att Nightt. Sometymes Fresh Fish, herrings, butter, etts., May bee had, butt uncertaine, soe thatt Men generally, especially of quallity, carry their provision, bedding, etts., along with them. However, at nightt all ly in common in thatt great roome one the Floore, one by the other, every Man chusing his Station or ground where hee likes, as allsoe att the tables; First come, First served, allthough there is way and respect given to the better sort. In Fine, Farre better accomodation For horses then Men. Yett such as itt is, a traveilling Man may passe therwith.

[1] See *ante*, pp. 89 n. 2, 102 n. 1 & 3.

[2] See vol. I. pp. 46, 52 f., 202 f.; vol. II. 24.

[3] Compare Moryson's description of N. German and Polish village inns (IV. 72) where "a passenger shall find no bed" but "must be content to sleepe upon cleane straw," nor "in such places any Wine or choice meates."

A Stove.

A stove (of which scarce any house in this Country is withoutt) is a principall roome lying inwards, which with us is termed a Parlour (as the outter the halle)[1]. The said stove is commonly the best Furnished room in the house, where the Master therof, his wiffe and Children (as allsoe strangers) doe sitt, converse, write, passe away their tyme, wherin is a Faire Cackle oven [Ger. *Kachelofen*, tiled stove], which in winter is Made hotte, to warm itt. The outer roome aforementioned is allsoe fairely sett forth; butt commonly they dresse their Meat therin, soe thatt itt may bee said their kitchin lies in the halle: contrary to Holland, For their [*sic*] their best garnished roomes lie to the streetewards. They are very curious [ingenious] here in costly painted seelings overhead, as in their stoves [parlour], etts.

A Cackle oven.

A Cackle Oven (which in Holland are called stoves [Du. *stove*] and there Made of Iron For the Most part) are here Made off Cackles [Ger. *Kachel*, tile], certayne hollow earthen tiles soe called, off greene, blew, ett[s]. coullours, with various worcks, built in Forme off a turrett: a pretty little structure, much adorning the roome; in heightt and bignesse, according to the roomes wherin they stand. From withoutt they make Fire into it. It Casteth a heatt to the Farthest part of the roome, which must bee kept very close. Noisome att First to those thatt are nott accustomed, and I thincke unwholsome att last, though commodious and proffitable otherwise, For by thatt Meanes a little woode will suffice to Make Fire to

[1] Mundy is here using the English term "stove" to describe a German *Stube*, which is a room or chamber heated with a furnace, and he uses it further for the inner or best room, calling it the parlour (Ger. *Besuchzimmer*) and the outer room the "halle" as in England: *Halle* in German meaning also an outer room, the hall, porch, or shop. This inner room in the severe German winter is warmed by a large tiled stove (*Kachelofen*). The English and the Dutch "stove" both originally meant the same thing, a hot-house or room, but in modern times the term has been transferred from the heated to the heater. Compare Moryson (IV. 15) for an interesting account of the German stove. See also Edward Browne's *Travels*, pp. 178–9, for the "common Stoves in Inns in Germany."

warme a great Company, all perticipating alike, one Not hindering the other. Nott soe att our Chimney Fires. Those Cackle ovens are allsoe usuall in Most private Chambers off the house, to bee warmed as occasion shall require, and beeing once hotte, a small Matter keepes on and continues the heat[1].

Calculation of miles travelled and sayled From my departure England in March 1639/1640 till my arrival at Dantzigk, with som Journeies annexed, till Feb: 1640 [1640/1].

From London to the Brill [De Brielle] in Holland, to and Fro	Miles 175
From thence to Rotterdam, 15 miles; From thence to Delffe [Delft], 8 miles; to the Haeg [Hague], 7, is 15; and back to Rotterdam is 30. From Rotterdam to Amsterdam all put together amountts unto	Miles 85
From Amsterdam to the Vlie, 140 Miles, thence to Dantzigk, 1U[2]	Miles 1140
From Dantzigk to Elbing, 28; From thence to Konigsberg, 48; and from Konigsberg to Weelaw [Wehlau], 28, is 104 Miles, and back againe	Miles 208
From Dantzigk to Torunia or Torne (Thorn), 83 Miles and back againe	Miles 166
From Dantzigk once againe to Konigsberg, over the Ice and backe	Miles 170
Summa	Miles 1944

[1] Mundy is describing the ordinary large stove of tiles (Old High Ger. *chakkala*, flat earthenware vessel, Ger. *Kachel*, Du. *kagchal*. Swiss *kattel*, a special tile for stoves) of Continental European houses, in use since the 14th century. He brings out two points: first that the Continental system keeps the whole area affected by the *Kachelofen* at the same temperature, whereas the area round the English open grate varies in temperature according to distance from the fire in it. This is forcibly observed by Continental visitors to England. Secondly, Mundy brings out that the English iron "stove" is an importation from Holland. In Relation XXXIV Mundy describes the Russian "stove," which is a different structure.

[2] That is, 1000 miles.

RELATION XXXIV

A VOIAGE FROM DANTZIGK IN THE BALTICK SEA UNTO ARCKANGELL IN RUSSIA, LYING ON THE WHITE SEA, WITH THE RETURNE FROM THENCE, AND SOM SMALLE OBSERVATIONES OF THOSE NORTHERNE REGIONES, *VIZ.*:

Departure from Dantzigk.

The 2d May Anno 1641, *stilo vetere*. I Came From thence aboard the shippe *Justice of Lubecke*[1], lying in Dantzigk roade, aboutt 3 English miles From the Citty[2].

Hele.

The 3d dicto. Wee sett saile, the wind contrary. Wee plied to windward untill the 5tt, when wee bore backe (by reason itt overblew)[3] and anchored by Hele[4], a smalle towne aboutt 6 leagues From Dantzigk afforesaid. This place somwhatt to bee compared to Quinsburrough [Queenborough] in Kentt For itts Forme[5] and condition off inhabitants; generally Fishers.

Att tymes are seales here killed, wherof some Milke white while they are yong, and growing elder, beecome dappled or spotted like unto Leopards; here beeing some of their skynnes[6].

The 6th [*May* 1641]. Wee sett saile againe, and the 8th wee were beetweene the 2 Ilands of Borneholme [Bornholm] and Reugen [Rügen], both in sight att once.

[1] I have been unable to trace this vessel.

[2] Danzig Road (Rade de Danzig) is shown in an old French map of 1759 outside Weichselmunde, at the mouth of the Weichsel. Mundy's distance is correct.

[3] Overblow, an obsolete nautical term signifying to blow with excessive violence; to blow too hard for topsails to be carried. The *O.E.D.* has quotations from 1599–1726.

[4] Hela, on the southern extremity of the Putziger Nehrung at the entrance of Danzig Bay.

[5] See *ante*, p. 55.

[6] Mundy is describing the common seal (*Phoca vitulina*).

The 9th [*May* 1641]. In the Morning wee had sightt allsoe of Rostocke and Wizmere [Wismar][1], 2 Cities on the larboard side, and on our starboard side lay the land of Holstein, beetweene which wee passed, the sea Narrowing More and More beetweene the Coast of Meklenbourg and the Coast off Holstein afforesaid, making a deepe inlett or boy [*sic*, Lübeck Bay], ending att the road of Lubicke, where wee arrived and Anchored. Much wind and a short hollow Sea, soe thatt wee durst nott putt over For thatt tyme, there beeing a barre att the Rivers [Trave] Mouth.

Arrivall at Lubecke.

The next day wee came over, the wind and sea much abated; butt wee strucke sundry tymes shrewdly [sharply]. Wee passed by the Mund, a Fortiffication att the entrance off the River, upp which wee wentt 2 or 3 miles, soe tooke boate and passed upp to the Citty of Lubecke, which lyeth aboutt 10 Miles from the Mund[2]. This Citty hath Many Faire high spires, none of extraordinary note; many shipping, about 12 or 14 att once new building on the Stocke, allthough not very greatt[3]; no other religion permitted in the Citty then the Lutherans[4]; a pleasauntt Comodious place.

From hence, within 2 houres of our arrivall, wee tooke boate againe towards Old Sloe [Oldesloe]. Thatt Nightt

[1] Bargrave (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 82) describes Rostock and "Wismour" as he saw them in 1652.

[2] Travemünde, the port of Lübeck before the deepening of the river. Mundy's distance is correct.

[3] Mundy has more remarks on Lübeck later on in this Relation.

[4] Mundy here refers to an interesting bit of local history. The Reformation having been violently opposed by the Lübeck authorities, after its admission in Hamburg and elsewhere, the citizens took advantage of the Council's urgent need of money for the Swedish Wars of 1528–9 to insist upon the introduction of the Reformed religion. On the 30th June, 1530, after long disputes and reference to the Emperor at Augsburg, the delegates of the burghers and the assembled citizens made a declaration that all Popish ceremonies must be abolished in all Churches, save in the Dom (Cathedral), over which the Council had no jurisdiction. Subsequently the whole of the Catholic clergy, with the exception of the Cathedral Chapter, were obliged to leave the town, and the monks had the choice of leaving or going to prison. See Becker, *Umständliche Geschichte der...Stadt Lübeck*, Bd. II. Abth. 8, *et seq.*

wee lay att a village or dorpe[1], called Mistauban [Maistling].

Old Sloe.

The 11th of May [1641]. Wee came to the towne of old Sloe. From Lubeck hither a very pleasauntt passage, all the way in the River Drauve [Trave], which maketh many Farre Fetcht windings: a Fine vally, commonly on either side, bordred with pretty lowly hills, covered with greene growing Corne and green shady woods, thicketts, etts, wherein were store of nightingalls singuing here and there. Some of them to bee heard all tymes of the Nightt; a straunge pretty property peculier only to thatt bird, except you will reckon the owle, etts., among singing birds[2]. The River att presentt shallow through want of Raine, soe that wee were Faine to ly one Nightt by the way, as afforesaid. In this place the King of Denmarck keepes a garrison[3]. Thatt eve[n]ing wee parted thence and lay in a Crooe [inn] among the woods[4], Named [blank]. Here wee conceaved our selves in som danger, beecause thatt beetweene Hamburgh and Lubecke, beeing such a greatt thoroughfare For all Sorts, It is said thatt sometymes [in] these wild Crooes, lying soe among the woods Farre From other habitations, straungers have bin Made away and never after heard off, which made us to keepe watche all Nightt, wee beeing butt Few.

The 12th ditto [*May* 1641]. Wee came [by road] to Hamburgh. Aboutt halffe the way From old Sloe very bad

[1] Dorpe, Du. *dorp*, a village. The word "dorp" in Mundy's day was more or less naturalised in English.

[2] It is probable that the song of the nightingale was new to Mundy as a Cornishman, since that bird is seldom found west of the valley of the Exe: hence the saying that there are no nightingales in Devonshire because all the girls can sing. Childrey, writing of "The Natural Rarities of Cornwall" (*Britannia Baconica*, p. 13) remarks: "There are no Nightingales, at least very few; a thing not to be wondered at by reason of the great scarcity of woods, a delight of that Bird."

[3] The allusion in the text is to quartering of troops in Lübeck by Christian IV during the Thirty Years' war. See Becker, *op. cit.*, Bd. III. 374–417.

[4] Waldenhoff, near Ahrenburg. Bargrave, in February 1652–3 (*op. cit.* fol. 85) journeyed from Lübeck to Hamburg and also "travelld through bad wayes, to our Lodging at a crewe among the Woods."

travelling, the way deepe [muddy], the other halffe somwhatt better. All the way much woods, cheiffly beech; some oakes; much Marish ground and heath. No pine trees in these parts that I could see.

Hamburgh: the Walles: Spires off Churches: River Elbe.

Somwhatt among the rest Notable in Hamburgh, *viz*:

1. The walles, which For comelinesse and strength Not to bee equalled in these parts, by report[1].
2. The spires off their principall Churches, as St Peters the domo[2], St Jacobs[3], St Nicholas[4], St Catherine[5], etts, plaited over with Copper, as in other parts with lead, etts., butt the Churches and pillars of Bricke, as well here as in Holland [and] other places thatt I have seene, Not comparable to our Cathedralls in England, off Faire solid hewen stone, More beautifull and durable[6].
3. The River Elbe, which by helpe of the sea ebbeth and Floweth through sundry Channells in the Citty: an Excellentt comodiousnesse, butt nott soe good use made therof as in Holland they doe with standing water (in a Manner); here itt commonly running on the backe side of their houses in Narrow darke durty Channells. Had Amsterdam thatt beneffitt, itt were a place incomparable.

They are Neither here very curious [careful] in cleane streetes: Dantzigk nott much better.

[1] The fortifications which surrounded Hamburg (Altstadt and Neustadt) were erected at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War and the ramparts now serve as promenades. Bargrave (*op. cit.*, fol. 87) has a detailed description of these fortifications.

[2] St Peter's, in Mundy's day the Cathedral (Ger. *Dom*, It. *Duomo*) of Hamburg, was taken down in 1806 and a later building was destroyed by fire in 1842. Only a few vestiges of the 14th century structure which Mundy saw now remain.

[3] The Jacobikirche, which escaped the fire of 1842, is still existing.

[4] The Church of St Nicholas was destroyed by fire in 1842.

[5] St Catherine's Church escaped the fire of 1842.

[6] Mundy is evidently no admirer of the brick architecture, known as the Baltic Style, which came into vogue in the 12th century and spread from the Weser to the Vistula, *i.e.* from Bremen to Danzig.

Moryson also (f. 5) remarks on the building of the Baltic towns "all of bricke (as in all the other Sea-bordering Cities lying from these parts [Hamburg] towards Flanders)."

A Fine spire: a Costly pullpitt: a large braunched Candlestick: a rare prospective peece.

St Catherines Church exceeds in these perticulers:

1. The tower and spire, the comeliest and Netest in Forme, allthough not the highest.
2. The Pulpitt, the Ritchest in Matter and Forme thatt I have seene, the under part off Marble, Jasper, toutch stone [black marble], etts.; the upper off Ebony, etts. India wood; all off exquisite and admirable Carved worcke off Imagery, etts.[1] Itt cost, by reportt, aboutt 24Uooo Marcks Lubish, is 8Uooo Reicks dollers[2]. St Peters Church hath a Fontt off the same Nature and cost uppon halffe as Much.
3. The biggest and Fairest braunched brasse hanguing Candlesticke.
4. The history or parable off the Pharisee and the Publican painted in a prospective peece [in perspective], the best and largest I have seene off that kind[3].

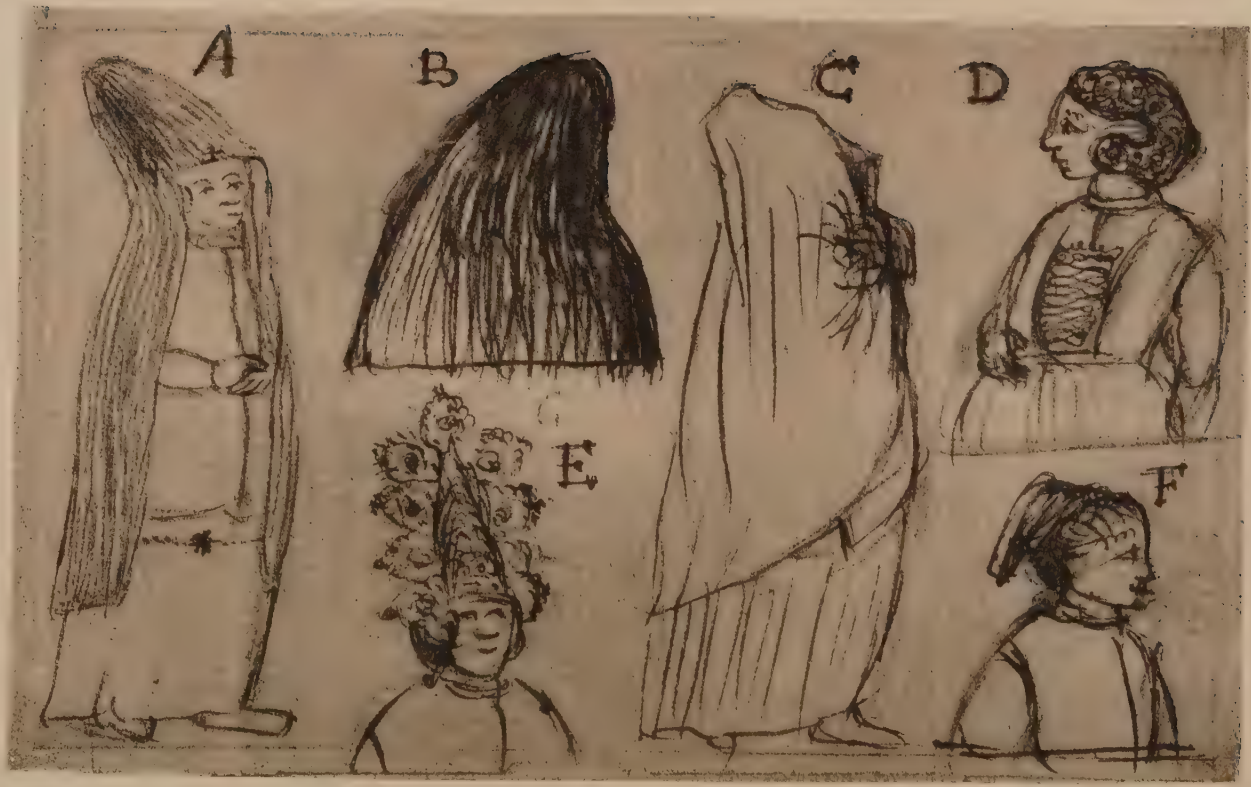
An artificiall dyalle.

Stt. Nicholas hath another such prospective peece off old Father Simeon, allso a rare diall off wheeleworcke, shewing the hower off the day, age off the Moone, her distance From the Sunne, her increasing, decreasing, by a Figure; the Signe the sunne is in, etts., under itt; the perticuler day off the Month, year off our Lord, etts., by a greatt wheele thatt Maketh but one turne in a whole year, with divers other demonstrations all by wheele worcke. Allsoe a Faire high

[1] The pulpit of black marble and white alabaster was erected in 1633 and still exists. It is described by Bargrave in 1652 (*op. cit.*, fol. 85) as "A rare pulpitt, having the Statues of the twelve Apostles, excellently figurd in rich Marble for its Staire-case, and a Majestick Canopy of Statues and Pictures."

[2] Mundy is right. The Rix Dollar of about 4*s.* 2*d.* was worth three old Lubs marks; so the cost of the pulpit was about £1650 sterling.

[3] No mention of the branched candlestick has been found. The painting seen by Mundy is by Gabriel Engels, a clever perspective painter and native of Hamburg, who worked there about the middle of the 17th century, and was famous for views of church interiors with Biblical subjects. See *Der Fremde in Hamburg*; Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon.*



No. 3. Habitts att Hamburg.

paire of winding staires standing all open to view[1]. These kind of staires are much used in all these parts.

Habitts att Hamburg.

The habitts used here by weomen so various as I thinck no where the like, by reason of the sundry Nations here inhabiting, as English, French, High Dutch [German], Hollanders, Brabanders [Flemings], etts. Butt these thatt Follow properly beelong to this place, as I conceive.

The afforesaid Figures expressed as Followeth.

A. Weomen with certayne blacke vailes off thinne stuffe, thickly plaited, worne both by yong and old, butt only such as are married; their petticoates Most commonly off 2 coullours, as redd and blacke, or otherwise, Joyning att this Marcke *[2].

B. The same with their backes towards you, appearing like a sort of Friers when their hoodes are on.

C. Others with blacke Mantles covering their Faces, in like Manner as the Portugalls wives, Mestizaes, etts., doe att Goa [and] Macao with their sherazzees[3].

D. The most ordinary sort, as tradesmens wives, etts., their bosom commonly laced with a silver chaine.

E. Another sort with a high piramidicall attire, the old as well as yong.

F. Maides[4].

[1] These wonders seem to have perished in the fire of 1842.

[2] See Plate III, illustration No. 3.

[3] By "mestizaes" (Port. *mestiça*) Mundy means Oriental Portuguese female half-breeds and by "sherazzees" mantillas worn by such as part of their ordinary costume. See vol. III. p. 269, n. 3.

[4] For A and B, compare Hollar's plate of "A Woman of Cologne," *c.* 1643, although that illustration has the tufted disc in addition (*Theatrum Mulierum*).

For C, see the illustrations on the map of Pinneberg (adjoining Hamburg) in Danckwerth's *Neue Landesbeschreibung*, &c.

Nothing similar to figure E has been traced.

The illustration marked F appears to be the flat cap of linen worn by servants and countrywomen in several German districts in Mundy's day. Cf. the headdress in a corner of Danckwerth's map of Pinneberg noted above.

For general remarks on the "Germans Apparrell," see Moryson, IV. 204 *et seq.*; *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 292.

Many other Fashions their are, butt I have only sett downe some off them, somwhatt More or lesse as I saw.

Here I saw a Cammell with 2 bunches on his backe, having seene None beffore, allthough I lived long in those parts where they are common, I mean cammells such as have butt one[1].

Nieu Meulen.

The 17th June 1641, beeing Thursday, I departed Hamburgh and came downe to Nieu Meulen [Neumühlen] or New Mill, aboutt 2 miles From the Citty on shoare, a pretty habitation to sightt. Here shippes of burthen ly to take in the rest off their lading, beeing bound Forth, as allso to discharge att their returne. I came aboard the *St. John Evangelist*, Hans Schroder Master, to take my passage For Russia, And From thence bound to the southward with thatt country commodity, as Cordage, hides, hemp, tallow, etts. The said shippe and schipper [Du. *schipper*, skipper] was in the Spanish Fleete, and one off them thatt came ashore in the Downes when the Hollanders gave the onsett[2]. Hee came off againe with little hurt, only lost som anchors and cables, beeing forced to Cutte.

Thatt evening wee fell somwhatt lower and anchored thatt Night.

The 18th June [1641]. Wee proceeded and came downe the River Elbe as low as Stode, the old English Staple[3], aboutt 18 miles from Hamburgh, and there anchored.

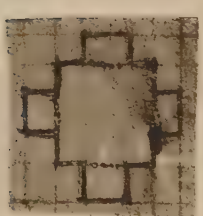
[1] Mundy means that he was familiar with the Arabian one-humped camel, but had never before met with the Bactrian or Central-Asian two-humped variety.

[2] The Battle of the Downs in October 1639. See *ante*, Relation XXXI, pp. 37–43. The ship and her skipper have not been traced.

[3] Stade on the Schwinge, a tributary of the Elbe. It was the English staple when Moryson was there in 1591: "Stode...of late was become so poore, as they had sold the priviledge of coyning money, and some like Rights to Hamburg; till the English Merchants removing their seat of trafficke from Hamburg to Stode, it began lately to grow rich" (I. 3).

Edward Browne who visited Stade after Mundy (1668), remarks (*Travels*, p. 177): "Stadt or Stoade, upon the River Zwingh, a strong Town, belonging to the King of Sweden, and where the English Merchants had formerly their Residence, when they left Hamburg upon a Discontent."

(*a*)



(*b*)

No. 4. Gluckstad: the kings gardein: the banquetting house therin.
(*a*) A high spire composed off 4 Snakes.
(*b*) The Foundation.

Gluckstad: The kings gardein.

The 19th [*June* 1641]. Wee came and againe Anchored before Geluckstade [Glückstadt], a Fortiffied place where the king of Denmarcke takes 1 per cent Custom off shippes thatt passe to and Fro, having a garrison in the towne and some shippes of warre lying beffore itt; among the rest a gally. Att the entraunce is a Finely contrived Fort, builtt aboutt 3 yeares since[1]. A little Farther is the kings house, a Faire building, and adjoyming [*sic*] to the towne on the other side is his garden and house of pleasure, in my opinion worth Notice, especially the house. The gardein stands in a square plott off ground, emcompassed with a quicksett hedge or wall, the best thatt I have seen, making Most delightsome walkes, within which ly Many compartmentts, knotts[2], etts., all Finely contrived and clean and neatly kept. In the very Middest off all stands the house, builtt 4 square, and outt of every side againe Issues another, as by the First Figure[3], which representts the Foundation covered over with Lead on the toppe, and in the Middest a high spire composed off 4 Snakes twyning one with the other, as 4 strands in a Cord, their tailes Making the uppermost and sharpest point, their heads lowermost to the very roofe. On the 4 outtletts [wings] on the 4 sides are 4 greatt winged dragons all off lead, the underpart off the said squares supported with pillars, excepting where doore or entrance[4].

The banquetting house therin.

Itt consists off severall roomes, 2 principall in the middle,

[1] Glückstadt in the estuary of the Elbe, was fortified by Christian IV of Denmark in 1620 to hold the Hamburgers in check, and was twice unsuccessfully besieged during the Thirty Years' War. It was dismantled in 1815.

[2] The term "knot" for a flower-bed laid out in a fanciful shape or any laid-out garden-plot is now almost obsolete.

[3] See Plate IV, illustration No. 4 (*b*).

[4] The Garden house at Glückstadt was on the other side of the town from the Castle (Glücksburg). Mundy's sketch is identifiable with the minute elevation of the Konings Garde in Danckwerth's Plan of the Fortress in his *Neue Landesbeschreibung* &c. It was in the S.E. corner of the fortifications on the Rhijstrom. Mundy's description is valuable as no other has been traced. See Aubery du Maurier, *Mémoires de Hamburg*, p. 8; Barfod, *Danmarks Historie*, p. 74.

viz., the banquetting roome and the kitchin under itt, there beeing a seller [cellar] under thatt againe. From the banquetting roome they goe into 4 smaller, which stand on pillars on the 4 outtletts [wings], in one off which is the kings bed; the Cheiff roomes paved with white and blacke Marble Chequered, with sundry ritch pictures[1]. In my Minde itt is nott soe greatt, as pretty and Finely contrived; builtt aboutt the same tyme the Fort was; the said Fort resembling a gentlemans house, as the Castle att Elsanour[2] doth a kings pallace. The king himselff often here, affecting the place, repayring, building and Furnishing his house etts., More and More, as allso in Fortiffication. The Manner of the gardeinhouse or banquetting roome is somwhatt according to the 2d Figure above[3].

Grudges betweene the king of Denmarcke and the Hamburghers.

Here on the walles off the Church tower is hung on high, 7 or 8 Fathom From the ground, a shippes anchor. The reason, as I was told, was, there beeing som difference beetweene the king and the Hamburgers, the kings shippes sett uppon theirs, Forcing som to leave their Anchors beehind and all to beetake them to Flightt, some cutting, som letting slipp, their cables. In remembrance off which one off their anchors is hung upp as a Monumentt. The Hamburgers on the other side att another tyme, having the better, Caused the king of Denmarcks coullours to bee hung att their sterne, outt through the house of office [latrine]. Butt which off these were First I enquired Nott. Soe that allthough their is peace, yett their is distast and grudge beetweene them, as appeares allsoe by the Following passage.

Att my beeing Now att Hamburgh, the king of Denmarck came to Altnoe [Altona], a place aperteyning unto him, within an English mile of the Citty; butt hee was nott in-

[1] See *infra* in this relation for further comments on the pictures.
[2] See *ante*, p. 84.
[3] See Plate IV, illustration No. 4 (*a*).

vited into itt, Neither came any off the Burgers to visitt him, allthough hee lay 2 or 3 daies, which hee tooke distastfully[1].

The 20th June [1641]. Wee sett saile From Altnoe, And thatt evening wee saw a smalle Iland called Holy Land [Heligoland][2].

Shortt Nightts.

The 25th [*June* 1641]. Wee were in the Latitude off 60 degrees North, where the sun did sett to the Northward off N.W. by North, soe thatt hee was butt 4 howres under the Horizontt, and No nightt att all in a Manner.

No nightt att all.

The 2d of June, I say of July, 1641. Beeing in the latitude of 70 degrees, at 12 of the clocke att nightt when the Sunne was att lowest, then was hee is [*sic*, ?in] about $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees above the Horizontt, as I tried by an experimentt, which I conceave stands with good reason. Then was the Sunne Near

[1] The facts alluded to by Mundy appear to be as follows.

In spite of the Elbe *privilegium*, granted to the Hamburgers in 1628 by the Emperor Ferdinand II, Christian IV issued a decree 9/19 April 1630, whereby all ships proceeding to Hamburg were to strike sail at Glückstadt, and heavy tolls were imposed on all Hamburg ships and goods. The Hamburgers appealed to the Emperor, and after an attempt to destroy the Glückstadt blockhouse, their men-of-war, on April 28th, 1630, seized two Royal pinnaces, and carried them up stream to Hamburg, trailing the Danish Colours in the water behind them. Although this action was deprecated by a Hamburg Commissary, such an outrage was too much for Christian IV, and in September of the same year Danish men-of-war were sent from Copenhagen up the Elbe. The Hamburgers sought to oppose them, but after considerable losses of both ships and men, their Admiral, Albrecht de Eitzen, left his ship and made for the shore. The ship itself only escaped on the second day by cutting her cable. King Christian caused the anchor to be lifted and to be hung up high on the Church Tower of Glückstadt. An anchor hung on the N. side of the tower until 1805, and in 1854 still stood inside the entrance. See Lucht, *Glückstadt*, p. 168; Barfod, *op. cit.*, pp. 892, 894; Olearius, p. 89; Lackmann, III. p. 535.

Altona came into Danish possession as part of the Pinneberg lands, on the death without heirs of Count Otto VI of Holstein, &c., of the Schauenburg line, who was heavily in debt to King Christian. The King had great designs for the place, which he wished to make into a garrison and trading centre, to the great displeasure of the Hamburgers, who did not wish to have a fort at their gates, and who were already at variance with the King about the tolls on the Elbe at Glückstadt. Wichmann, *Geschichte Altona's*, p. 47, &c.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 156–7, for Mundy's remarks on Heligoland.

1½ point to the Eastward of the North, there beeing soe much Westerly variation in the Compasse hereaboutts. I say the sun Mightt bee 2½ degrees above the horizontt, which should bee butt 2 degrees by all rules. For example, when the Sunne is in the tropicke of Cancer, then should hee bee 3½ degrees high when att lowest, since when hee is returned to the Southwards aboutt 1½ degrees, rests 2 degrees. Butt ther[e] were 2½ degrees att least, the rest occasioned by reffraction, soe terming the elevation or advauncing off the Sunne when hee commeth Near the Horizont, by the vapours of the Earth causing him to appear higher then indeed hee is by the proportion Following, as hath bin Found by observation.

An observation.

	The Sunne Degrees		Minutts		The Starres Degrees		Minutts
	0		34		0	above the	30
	1		26		1	horizontt,	1.22
	2		20		2	then ap-	2.15
	4	above the	15	higher	4	pear they	4.11
When the Realle	7	horizontt,	13	then	7	to bee.	7.8
bodie of the	10	then ap-	10	indeed	11		11.5
Sunn Is	16	peares he	7	hee is	15		15.3
	23	to sightt	3		—		—
	32		1				
	—		—				

More to bee considered thatt the higher your station is From the water levell, the Farther is your horizontt From your Zenith; *viz.*, hee thatt standeth 2 Foote higher then the levell seeth a Minutt, the 60th part off a degree, or a Mile Farther then hee thatt standeth or looketh From the levell or superficies itt selffe, which is allso observed to be Thus:

Another [observation].

	Feete		Minutt or Mile		Feete	Minutts or Miles
	2		1		53	8
	4	then shall	2		67	9
	8	hee Farther	3		82	10
If a Man see from	14	see into the	4	then hee shall	100	11
above the levell,	20	horizontt	5	see from the	118	12
	27		6	levell itself.	140	13
	39		7		163	14
	—		—		186	15
					—	—

Since our comming Forth hitherto, Neither wind Nor weather scarce 2 daies together Constantt[1].

[1] Lieut.-Comdr. G. T. Temple, R.N., author of the *Admiralty Pilots for Norway*, has once again supplied me with an illuminating note on Mundy's observations.

"The phenomena of the so-called 'Midnight Sun,' to which Mundy here refers, are, like the seasons, due to the fact that the axis of the earth, which continues always parallel to itself as it moves round the sun, is inclined to an angle of about 23½ degrees (23° 27′ 54″) to the plane of its orbit. The effect of this inclination is to produce variations in the length of the day to such an extent that in polar regions, at the solstices, the duration of sunlight is reckoned in months instead of hours. At the summer solstice, about June 21st, the north pole, with its encircling zone, which is bounded by the Arctic Circle (about 66° 32′ N. lat.), is situated entirely in that half of the earth which is presented to the sun. Hence at this point of her orbit it is constant day at the north pole and in the Arctic zone, while the south pole, with the Antarctic zone, is immersed in darkness during the entire diurnal rotation, and it is constant night. In the remaining regions of the earth, it is evident that the nearer a place is to the north pole the longer it will remain in the illuminated hemisphere in the diurnal rotation, every place north of the equator having a day of more, and a night of less, than 12 hours, and *vice versa* for places south of the equator. All these phenomena are exactly inverted when the earth arrives at the opposite position of its orbit at the winter solstice (about December 22nd). At the two equinoxes (about March 20th and September 23rd), the days and nights are of equal duration all the world over, the boundary of light then passing through the poles.

"The altitude of a heavenly body, observed at sea by means of the sextant, is called the observed, or apparent, altitude. To obtain the true altitude we must apply to the observed altitude (in addition to the index error of the instrument itself) several corrections, the principal of which are the parallax in altitude, refraction, and the depression, or dip, of the sea-horizon.

"Parallax, alternation, the mutual inclination of two lines forming an angle, is the apparent angular shifting of an object arising from a change in our point of view. It is expressed by the angle subtended at the object by a line joining the two stations from which it is viewed.

"Parallax in altitude is the correction to be applied to the apparent place of a heavenly body, as actually seen from the station of the observer on the earth's surface, to reduce it to the place where it would have appeared at that instant if viewed from the earth's centre, the radius of the earth being the line joining the two stations. Hence it is called the Geo-centric Parallax; it is also called the Diurnal Parallax, because it goes through its course of variation within the time the body is above the horizon. Strictly, parallax in altitude and diurnal parallax are not quite coincident, but as the difference is inappreciable, the diurnal parallax may be used without error for the parallax in altitude in all the common problems of celo-navigation. The effect of parallax is to depress bodies, so the true altitude is obtained by adding the parallax to the observed altitude.

"The parallax of a heavenly body is greatest when the body appears in

No difference beetweene Midnight and a faire Morning.

The 6th of July [1641]. Wee were in 71¼ degrees, the Sunne aboutt 3 degrees high att Midnightt, as wee may terme itt, bearing North by East ½ East, allthough truely due North, there beeing soe much westerly variation, as abovesaid. Att presentt our Midnightt here beeing No other then a Faire cleare Ruddy Morning (a little after Sunrising) is with us. A cold Climate, allthough in the heart of Summer.

the observer's horizon, when it is called Horizontal Parallax, and it diminishes to zero in the zenith; it differs for different bodies according to their distance from the observer, and the nearer the body is to the earth the greater will be its parallax.

"The subject of refraction is of great importance to the navigator, as being the principles on which the telescope he uses is constructed, and as affecting the observations he makes. A ray of light passing obliquely from one medium to another of greater density (a medium being whatever allows the transmission of light) is found to be broken or deflected from its rectilineal course, and to bend towards a perpendicular to the surface of the denser medium. Hence, as an object always appears in the direction the visual ray has when it enters the eye, a heavenly body seen through the atmosphere appears to a spectator on the earth's surface to be raised, and, on this account, its true place is below its apparent place. The refracting power of the atmosphere varies with its density, and this is affected in any particular stratum, not only by the superincumbent pressure, but also by its temperature and its degree of moisture. Refraction is greatest when the body is in the horizon and diminishes to zero in the zenith. Near the horizon it is about 33′, which is rather more than the greatest apparent diameter of the sun which will consequently appear just above the horizon when it is in reality entirely below it. From this it is evident that refraction has a considerable effect, especially in high latitudes, in lengthening the periods of daylight, and it has a similar effect in the time of the rising and setting of the other heavenly bodies. To the navigator, the most important object which is thus affected is the sea horizon, which, being raised by refraction, causes the apparent dip to be less than the true.

"Depression or Dip is the angle through which the sea-horizon is depressed in consequence of the elevation of the eye of the spectator above the surface of the sea. The greater the height of the eye the greater evidently will be the extent of the sea-horizon, therefore as the eye is elevated the sea-horizon becomes depressed in proportion. It is also subject to inequalities depending upon particular states of the atmosphere, and varies with the relative temperatures of the sea and air. An accidental relation furnishes us with an easily remembered rule: The dip in minutes is the square root of the height in feet.

"Mundy was evidently well acquainted with the effects of refraction and dip; and bearing in mind that the quadrant, the forerunner of the sextant, was not invented till 1731, the results he obtained with the rough instruments at his disposal bear eloquent testimony, if such were needed, to the painstaking thoroughness of his work."

The 9th of July [1641]. Wee were in 72 degrees 9 Minutts. The weather these Many daies very variable with much Mists. Little or No Fish to bee seene att Sea, excepting sometymes whales. Few Fowle, one among the rest called a Mevis[1], beeing in Forme, bignesse and quality like unto the Pintado[2] aboutt Cape Bon Esperanza [Good Hope], For it keepes Near shipping, Flying offten round aboutt, only differs in coullour, this beeing grayish, certaine greatt white spotts to bee discerned.

The 10th [*July* 1641]. In the evening wee had sightt off land.

The 11th [*July* 1641]. Att evening allsoe wee saw the land againe; a greatt Mist all day.

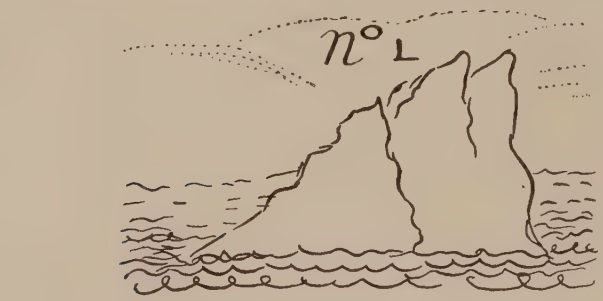
The 12th [*July* 1641]. In the Morning, beeing cleare, wee were within 4 or 5 Mile off the North Cape, lying on the Iland off Waggerooe [Magerö], the very cape it selff bearing S. by W., as appeareth ass Figure No. 1. The Mother and the daughters S.W. by W., as No. 2. These ly aboutt [blank] Mile asunder[3].

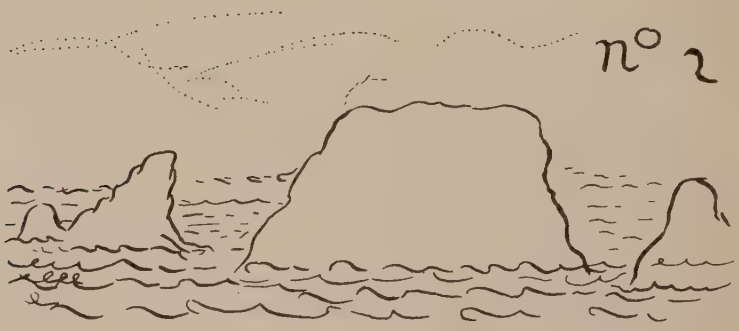
[1] Mundy's informant probably told him that the bird in question was a *Mewe* (Ger.), gull, but it is more likely to have been a young Fulmar Petrel (*Procellaria glacialis*), Ger. *Mallemucke*, or "Mollies" as sailors call them. See *Martens' Voyage to Spitzbergen*, ed. A. White (Hak. Soc. 1st Ser. vol. XVIII), pp. 75, 155.

[2] The petrel known as the Cape pigeon. See Vol. II, pp. 6, 7.

[3] See Illustration on next page. The "Mother and the daughters," De Moer mette Dochters, are three remarkable islands lying off the coast of Norway. Compare *Barents' Second Voyage to the Arctic Regions*, 1595 (Hak. Soc. 2nd ed., 1st ser., vol. LIV), p. 48: "The sunne being south [¾ p. 10 a.m. 7 Aug.] the North Cape lay south-west and by south from us about a mile and a halfe (6 miles), and the Mother and her Daughters south-west from us about 3 [12] miles." Le Bruyn also, in 1703 (*Voyages*, v. 297) remarks: "Nous aperçûmes le Cap du Nord....Le plus grand Rocher de ce Cap, et le plus avancé, se nomme la Mère, et les petits, qui sont à côté, à droite et à gauche, les Filles." Lt.-Comdr. G. T. Temple, R.N. writes: "These are undoubtedly the Stappen (or Stapper) islands, on the north side of Gjœsvær (*Norway Pilot*, Pt. II, 1880, pp. 407, 411). The positions given by Barents are correct, but the distances between the three islands are less than a quarter of a mile, and the name 'Mother and Daughters' was probably a purely local one, and seems to be now quite forgotten. The name 'Stappen' is mentioned in the Norwegian State Archives, in 1567, as one of several places in or adjacent to Magerö, which were included in the parish of Tuenæs, a point halfway between the North Cape and Store (Great) Stappen, and there was even then a church on Kirke Stappen, the middle island. But most of these places were not at that time inhabited all the year round, though no doubt they were frequented by 'Sea or Fisher' Lapps, and other fishermen."

Moreover, aboutt 1 league to the Eastward is a head of land[1] rightt in appearance like to the upper partt of the hill by Cape Bon Esperanza wheron stands the table[2], this beeing allsoe levell att the toppe. When the Middle of the said hill beares S.S.W., aboutt 2 leagues off, then shall you see a





rocke sticking outt From the East side like a Rinoceros horne, by sailers called the steeremans trolle, as No. 3[3].

[1] Skarsvaagnæring, the headland east of North Cape. See G. T. Temple, *Norway Pilot*, Pt. II (1880), p. 415.

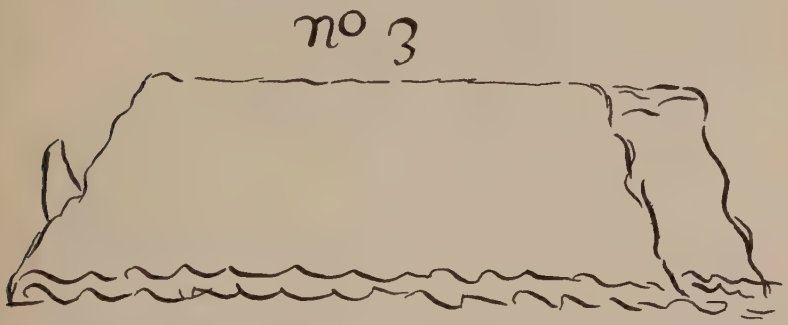
[2] Mundy ascended Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope in 1634. See Vol. II, p. 323.

[3] This rock is described in Lt.-Comdr. G. T. Temple's *Norway Pilot*, *loc. cit.*, as "A remarkable pointed crag or spur named Hornet, which strikingly resembles the horn of a rhinoceros" which "projects from the eastern slope of the [North] cape." The name "Steeremans Trolle," in Norwegian "Styrmands Trold," literally the "mate's Wizard," is another quite obsolete name, and the rock is now simply called "Hornet," the horn.

The highest land hereawaies on this side the Cape. *viz.*, to the Eastward, by Judgementt may bee aboutt the heightt off Portland, Lizard, etts.

Stockeffish.

Here alongst the Sea Coast are inhabitantts [Lapps], whome I conceave to bee the Most Northermost off any other in any part off the world beesides. They live by Fishing, as doe others among the Ilands on the Coast off Fynnemarcke[1], on the other side of the Cape. They Fish in winter, which [fish] is hard, Frozen and dried with cold, withoutt Saltt, which is transported in boattes to Bergen in Norway, beeing



a greatt Mart towne For thatt commodity; and From thence greatt quantities transported to divers part off Christendome, and is thatt which wee call stockffishe[2].

Hereaboutts the inhabitantts have the sunne in sightt, or allwaies above the horizontt, above 3 Monthes together, and in Winter as much under, his long presence giving No greatt heatt, wanting heightt[3]; For the Country was Full off Snow, especially the lower groundes, att this tyme off the Year. Soe thatt wheras I Made accompt to have had a Summers passage, I had a Meere winters voyage, very cold, much raine, Mists,

[1] Finmarken is the northernmost "amt," or province of Norway.

[2] Stockfish is, as Mundy states, a name for cod or other gadoid fish cured by splitting open and drying hard in the air without salt. Anthony Jenkinson speaks of "Stockfish...which they dry with frost" (*Early Voyages to Russia*, I. 18). In Norway it is called *törfisk* (dry fish).

[3] See *ante*, note on p. 123.

inconstantt weather, variable winds, The Country Nott affoarding any trees or bushes thatt wee could perceave: a cold barren and comffortlesse coast; yett Man Makes a shifft to live here. Whales in Former tyme were to bee killed aboutt this Cape, butt now there are better places Found For thatt purpose.

The 2 greatt Capes off the world.

I conceave thatt the Cape afforesaid, termed by the Name of the North Cape, is off the greatest Note off any other in the North parts off the world, As Cape Bon Esperanza [Good Hope] May challenge priviledge For the South, this lying in 72½ degrees North lattitude and thatt in 34½ South, distantt asunder 106 [107] degrees North and South[1].

Fynnes and Lappes, Fishermen: Cheape Fish.

The 15th of July [1641]. Came a Yoholl[2], or smalle boate, with 4 Lapps or Finns, to say Laplanders or Fynnmarckers, For hereaboutts are the borders of those 2 Countries, Lapland and Fynmarcke[3]. Amongst them was a womon [*sic*]; each rowing with 2 oares. Wee had off them near 1C waightt [1 cwt.] off good Fresh Fish, For which wee gave them som biskitt, aquavity [*aqua vitae*, spirits], and tobacco, which they then rather desired then Mony (allthough they receave Mony too att tymes). They beelongued to Wardhouse [Vardö], wee beeing in sightt off the Iland, as allsoe off the Fortt and houses; For by reportt here are aboutt 200 Fisherhouses on the Iland, which aperteynes to the king of Denmarcke[4].

[1] Mundy is not quite right. The North Cape is 71° 15′ N. The Cape of Good Hope is 34° 12′ S., and the distance apart therefore is 105° 27′ and not 107°, which Mundy means by 106°, apart.

[2] Yoll, yoal, yole, yawl are English spellings of the Dutch *jol* and Scandinavian *jolle, jull*, a small fishing boat. Mundy's "Yoholl" is an unusual form and an early instance of the use of the term in English, as the first quotation in the *O.E.D.* is 1670.

[3] Boundaries in Mundy's time in this region were continually fluctuating and it is not now possible to check his statement. By "here" he means the neighbourhood of Vardö, which was then reckoned to be the North-Eastern boundary of Finmark or Northern Norway. See *Barents' Three Voyages* (Hak. Soc. vol. LIV), 2nd ed., p. 39 note.

[4] The islands of Vardö had a variety of names in Mundy's time: Waer-huysen, Wimthuis, Wardöhuis, Wardöhaus, Wardhouse. See

A poore Countrie: hard living.

The land From the Cape hither off a good Forme, like our English coast aboutt Cornewall and Devonshire; much snow over all, as well on the lower ground as on the higher land, disabled therby From producing any Corne or other greene thing wee could perceave, For From the Cape hither, beeing about 120 Miles, there was not a tree or bush to bee seene. I thincke itt to bee the uncomffortablest country and most inconvenientt For the liffe of Man off any other part off the world thatt is inhabited, yeilding little or Nothing Fitting For his sustenance or Comffortt; only the sea affoards them plenty off Fish, off which, dried and beaten smalle, they use For bread, and the Fatte For butter and oyle; this For the Most part by report. Yett, beeing bred and accustomed to the Country, they are contented with thatt Manner off living and kind off fare, and itt seemes itt prooves as well with them as others with all variety and ease with us. Att leastwise those thatt came to us wear Fatt, Fresh and healthy to see to[1].

Most off the Fish wee had From them were Helebutts [halibut], off which they had in their boate (thatt they would nott spare us) some above 6 Foot long. Itt is in Forme like a plaice, broad and Flatte, rather like a sole.

About 4 in the evening wee were within 4 or 4 [*sic*] Mile off the Iland Warouse or Wardhouse [Vardö] afforesaid. The wind beeing contrary, wee putt off to Sea.

Early Voyages to Russia (Hak. Soc. vols. LXXII, LXXIII), p. 17 note: *Barents' Three Voyages*, *op. cit.*, pp. vi, 39.

John Tradescant the elder remarks in his *Diary* (Hamel's *England and Russia*, tr. Leigh, p. 261): "Wardhouse whear the King [of Denmark] hath a castell withe great comand of Lapland, whear many Danes live with the Laps." Vardöhus, a small fort erected by Haakon V, *c.* 1310, is on the west side of the largest island, and is said to be the northernmost fortification in the world. See G. T. Temple, *Norway Pilot* (1880), p. 425.

The term "Wardhouse," &c. appears to have been applied indifferently, by the early travellers, to all the islands of Vardö, including the fortress.

[1] For sixteenth century descriptions of Lapps and a note on these people see *Early Voyages to Russia*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21; Herberstein, ed. Major, II. 109–11; and for the remarks of John Tradescant the elder, see Hamel, *England and Russia*, tr. Leigh, pp. 261–2.

An observation.

This Nightt the Sun was aboutt $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ degree to sightt above the horizontt att Midnightt, or a North Sun, which lett bee examined whither it bee according to the receaved rule off reffraction or noe. For here is a Fitt opportunity and occasion off triall, Farre better then elcewhere where the Sun goeth quite under and remayneth For some continuance, wee beeing att presentt in the lattitude off $70\frac{1}{4}$ Nearest hand[1].

The triall off itt.

First itt is to be conceaved thatt he thatt is rightt under the North pole hath the same For his Zenith and the eaquator or equinoctiall For his horizont round aboutt. Those againe thatt are in $66\frac{1}{2}$ degrees are $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees From the pole and consequently have the equinoction soe much above the horizontt towards the South, and soe much againe under towards the North, soe thatt the tropicke off Cancer is his horizontt towards the South and the tropicke off 69 toward the North, into which the Sun cometh aboutt the 12th June, when the Sun is in his Most Northermost declination; soe thatt when hee is rightt North, which should bee midnightt, hee is rightt in the horizontt and goeth Not under att all to those thatt are in $66\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, butt turneth and riseth towards the East and soe proceedeth southwards etts.

Now those thatt weare in $70\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, as wee were, are $19\frac{3}{4}$ degrees distantt From the Pole, and consequently the lyne soe much above the horizontt to the South; and soe much under towards the North; soe thatt the sun beeing $19\frac{3}{4}$ degrees (I say the lyne) under the horizontt, and the Sun having $23\frac{1}{2}$ degrees North declination the 12th or 13th June, shee is att the same tyme to thos that live in this lattitude off $70\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, Just $3\frac{3}{4}$ degrees above the horizontt. Butt since thatt tyme unto this day, by the tables off declination, shee is returned towards the South 3 degrees 56 Minutts; soe thatt shee should bee by thatt rule 11 minutts under the horizontt, wheras att presentt shee was aboutt 20 or 30 Minutts clear above att lowest. Thatt difference is termed

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 123.

reffraction, caused by the vapours lying Near the horizontt as beforementioned.

The afforesaid conclusion is Farr easier demonstrated on a terrestiall globe then can be conceaved by writing. The exactnesse is nott to bee relied uppon, beeing somwhatt More or lesse, having sett downe thus much For my owne exercise, as allsoe For satisffaction to some that would know the reason why the sun in some Climates goeth nott downe For many daies or monthes together, as allso For his seeming hither [*sic*, ? higher] then hee is. And allthough I may speake outt off my elementt, yett I have gon no Farther then I doe apprehend, having sometyme converst with Mariners and others skillffull in such matters.

I make accomptt thatt since the First off this month, when wee were in 68 degrees, untill this presentt, wee had no sunsett att all nor any part theroff toutching the horizontt, and I conceave thatt For 7 daies More some part off her was allwaies in sightt, part under, part above; For I thinck thatt the sun, when shee is close or in the horizont is [blank] degrees diameter, which is [blank] tymes thatt shee appeares to bee bigger then shee is indeed, caused allsoe by the vapours as afforesaid. And soe much For thatt perticuler[1].

The 18th of July [1641] beeing Sonday. A greatt English shippe came in to our company[2], which was the First wee saw these 3 weekes, excepting one at the Cape the 12th currantt, whome wee lost sightt off againe. This Morning the wind came Northerly beffor us, Faire, allthough itt broughtt Foule weather, having had these 7 or 8 daies Faire weather with a contrary wind, beeing Southerly.

Sweatnose.

The 19th [*July* 1641]. Wee were thwart off Sweattnose[3]

[1] See *ante*, note on p. 123, by Lt.-Comdr. G. T. Temple, R.N.

[2] This ship has not been traced.

[3] Sviatoi Noss, Holy Nose, called Suetenose, Swete Nose, Cape Gallant, Holy Promontory, by the early travellers, and "Sweetnose" by modern seamen.

"Holynose [Sviatoi Nos] is a huge rock, protruding into the sea, under which is seen a cave which every six hours receives the waters of the ocean, and forms a whirlpool, and alternately discharges them with great

in [67° 58′] degrees. From Wardhouse [Vardö] hither a Faire Forme of land, allthough ill conditioned, the snow remayning here and there.

Seales: drifft wood.

The 20th [*July* 1641]. In the Morning wee were aboutt 3 leagues beeyond Lombasch [Lumbovsk]. To day[1] wee saw many seales in greatt companies or [*sic*, ? and] allsoe greatt driffts off wood carried with the tide. Itt cometh From Farre upp in the Country, carried downe by the Rivers on the Coast into the Sea, Soe thatt the Sea here is better furnished with Fewell then the land; for from the [North] Cape and beeyond hitherto, Nott a tree to bee seene. Hereabouts beegan to appear some shrubbes and greene plotts. With the aforementioned drifft wood doe the Fishers alongst the coast provide themselves and lay uppe to dry For store, For From Wardhouse [Vardö] hither, Few inhabitantts aboutt the Sea shore exceptt Fishers, and thatt only in Summer. Butt within, the land is inhabited Summer and winter, as From Wardhouse towards the Cape is in like manner inhabited winter and summer on the sea coast by Fishers, which From the Cape toward Bergen repaire thither with their Fish, where they are supplied with bread, beere, aquavity, tobacco, etts., to helpe passe withall. And From the Cape toward Wardhouse they repaire thither, where they receave the like provision in trucke For their commodity, their comming shippes att the season off the year to bring itt away. Soe Farre as Wardhouse alongst the sea even From [blank], beeing aboutt [blank] leagues extends the King of Denmarcks dominion[2], allthough the most partt yeild butt smalle benefitt.

Whatt I have writt concerning these Fishers, I had itt From the report off some thatt had long used these voyages.

uproar, causing a smaller whirlpool. Some have called it the navel of the sea." Herberstein, ed. Major, *Notes upon Russia*, II. 106.

[1] Mundy is now between the Murman Coast and the Kanin Peninsula at the entrance of the White Sea.

[2] See *ante*, note 3 on p. 128.

Penoy.

This evening wee were thwart off Penoy [Ponoi], a harbour with a River [Ponoi] which comes From Farre uppe in the Country. Hereaboutts is accompted the Necke or entrance into the White sea, beeing att Narrowest Near uppon 10 leagues From side to side. A little shortt of this place were some Few Fishers hutts or Cabbins, allso 5 or 6 lodees[1] or Russia vessells sayling under the shoare. From Wardhouse hither accompted Lapland and apertaines to the greatt duke of Moscovia[2].

Having att presentt the wind contrary, wee mightt plainely perceave a Faire wind comming towards us in large Faire clouds, posting along uppon the water and shoare, soe thatt wee saw how they hasted Forward, att length came uppe with us, and overmaistring the Former contrary wind, and waited att our sterne.

Catsnose.

The 20th [*sic*] *July* [1641]. Wee saw the opposite land, beeing Russia: thicke, dirty, Rayny weather; our Faire wind still attending us. Aboutt Noone wee were thwart off Catsnose or Blauhooke[3], which was covered with trees, the First wee saw in sayling off Many hundred Miles alongst the Coaste.

Our yesterdaies wind continuing and growne to such a heightt thatt wee have nott sailed with greater expedition all this voyage, about 10 leagues a watche all Night, till 3 this affternoone, when wee shortned saile. Att 6 in the Afternoone we anchored in [blank][4] Bay, a very wild open rode, especially

[1] Russian *lody*, *lodia*. Many spellings of this word are found among the early travellers, *e.g.* lodding, lodgie, lodging, lodgien. It was a two-masted coasting vessel with large square sails for sailing before the wind and had 20 oars. See *infra*, p. 152, for Mundy's description of the craft.

[2] For a short sketch of Russian History up to Peter Mundy's time, see Introduction.

[3] Catsnose, Rus. Koshkinos, Cape Kuiski in the northern part of the Gulf of Archangel: called Koskanos by Jenkinson (*Early Voyages to Russia*, p. 22) and Katsnoes in Barents' map (*Barents' Three Voyages*, Hak. Soc.). It was mixed up by the early travellers with Foxnos, Foxenose or Cape Kerez at the eastern entrance of the Gulf of Archangel, which is called by sailors Cape Blue Nose, Du. Blaew-Hooke, whence Mundy's Blauhooke.

[4] The name is blank in Mundy's MS., but he means the Gulf of Archangel in British maps.

For this wind, which continued very vehementt, soe thatt our shippe tumbled and laboured More att Anchor the Nightt Following then shee did in all the Foregoing voyage. The sea water beetweene Fresh and salt hereaboutts, and in coullour such as after Raine runs From Moorish [swampy] grounds or in standing pooles or Marish land.

Wee rode in 7 Fathom water, St Nicholas Cloister bearing SSE. 4 or 5 miles off[1]. These 3 or 4 daies wee assaied severall tymes to putt over the barre, butt durst not For lacke off water, there beeing but 10 Foote on the barre, divers shippes lying aground theron, thincking to gett over; in danger if it should overblow [blow a gale].

Mosqueetos.

The 26th July [1641]. I came uppe the River Dwyna [Dvina] in an English boate. By [on] the way they putt a shore to cutt a Mast For their boate, butt coming aboarde From the wood, they broughtt with them a Multitude off Mosqueetos[2] etts. [and other] Flies. Butt by and by with a gale off wind wee were cleared, which blew them quite away.

Here in the River wee saw a Fish much bigger then a grampus, milk white[3]. Some say, beecause these kind off Fishes Frequentt this Sea, thatt thereffore itt is called the White Sea, For otherwise itt mightt bee called the blacke or

[1] The monastery of St Nicholas on the easternmost corner of the south side of the estuary of the Dvina, opposite the Monastery of St Michael. St Nicholas Fort was established by merchants from Novgorod looking for trade in the 10th century and a monastery followed. See Howe, *Some Russian Heroes*, p. 194.

[2] Mrs Howe tells me that mosquitoes are a great trouble in Northern Russia. They are in two varieties: *moshki*, a small troublesome midge: *komar*, a singing gnat, mosquito: Ger. *Mücke*, in both senses. See also Olearius, p. 64, for wasps, flies and gnats in this district.

[3] Mundy seems to be describing Martens' "White Fish," which his editor identified with the white whale, *Beluga catodon* (*Voyage to Spitzbergen*, pp. 101, 150). John Tradescant the elder, on the 12th July 1618 off "Foxnose" also "had sight of a great whight fish twse [? twice] so great as a porpos, being all over as white as snowe, whiche they say is a great destroyer of salmons."

On this Dr Hamel remarks that the fish must have been a white dolphin (*Delphinus leucas*), sometimes confused with the *Beluga* of the Volga and the Caspian Sea because in Russian the names are identical. See Hamel, *England and Russia*, tr. Leigh, p. 263.

Red Sea by the coullor off the water, the River beeing of the same, beetween blacke and red, as beforesaid[1]. Itt may bee conceaved thatt the Many Rivers comming From Marish lands, with which this country abounds, and runing into this Sea, thatt water beeing of a darcke reddish coullour allters the coullour off this, itt beeing butt a narrow Sea. All the way uppe the River, low land Full off woods, Marishes and Bushes[2]; Few habitations.

St Michael Arckangel.

Thatt evening wee came to the towne and Castle of St Michaell Arckangell, which makes a pretty handsom shew a Farre off, by reason off the many turretts off the Churches and Castle[3], beeing somwhatt Formall, all off wood, both walles and covering, as are their houses[4]. Itt stands on a point off land where the River Dwyna divides itt selffe into 2 great branches, one leading to the barre From whence wee came and the other to another barre deeper and more commodious, nott Farre asunder[5]. Butt the

[1] In the 16th century the White Sea was known as the Bay of St Nicholas, which name was also applied to the Gulf of Archangel. Le Bruyn who made two voyages to Russia, remarks in 1701 (*Voyages*, III. 8): "La Mer Blanche, dont les eaux sont plus claires que celles de l'Ocean," and in 1703 (v. 275): "La Mer Blanche, laquelle ne produit que du poisson noir, de toutes les sortes." This is naming the White Sea on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle. See *The Life of Jon Olafsson*, ed. Phillpotts, I. 129, for Olafsson's statement that the sea was milky white, and his editor's note on the varying colour.

[2] Mrs Howe tells me that Mundy is referring to the Tundra, the dry bog country, covered with the low ground scrub, that lies between where the forests end (*i.e.* where forest trees can grow) and where the permanently frozen ground begins. It runs with varying width along the whole North Coast of Russia and Siberia.

[3] The Monastery of St Michael Archangel was built on the opposite side of the Dvina to St Nicholas in the 12th century, was destroyed by Norsemen in 1419, but rebuilt, and in 1584 a wooden town, called Nova Kholmogory subsequently known as Archangel, was built round the re-erected monastery. Both monastery and town were destroyed by fire in 1637 and again rebuilt. See *Early Voyages to Russia* (Hak. Soc.), p. 189 and note; *Barents' Three Voyages* (Hak. Soc.), pp. xii, 70.

[4] The Citadel, when Le Bruyn visited Archangel in 1701 (III. 46) was still of wood, surrounded by a wooden fence.

[5] For general contemporary descriptions of Archangel, see Olearius (1636), p. 62; Le Bruyn (1701, 1703), III. 12, 44–52; v. 287.

passage thatt way is prohibited through their pollicy off state[1].

Here may bee in all beetweene 25 and 30 saile, *viz.* 6 English, 5 Hamburgers, 1 Bremener, 1 Dane; the rest Hollanders with their convoyers[2]. The English have here their house or Court apart, the generality dieting in common att one table; the principalls keeping their perticuler tables. They enjoy great priviledges, as Custom Free, wheras others pay sundry Customes beetween this and Muscow etts. other parts off the Country to and Fro, somwhatt after the Manner off India[3]. The Dutch have allsoe their house, court or yard apart. The Castle stands on the very point[4].

Samoyedes: A strange kind of people.

Att this tyme of the yeare repaire hither a certaine people called Samoyeds[5], Cladd from head to Foote in deere skynnes, somtymes with the hairy side outtwards, sometymes Inwards, according to heatt or colde[6]. The[y] are very browne, low

[1] Mundy seems to be alluding to the fact that only the havens of St Nicholas and Archangel on the White Sea were thrown open to the Russia Company for purposes of trade. See Cawston and Keane, *Early Chartered Companies*, p. 32 ff.

[2] This shows that the Dutch, whose rivalry with the English in Russia commenced *c.* 1576, outnumbered all the others put together.

[3] In 1533 Ivan Vassiliewitch granted trading facilities to the English, custom free, and in consequence the Russia Company was incorporated in 1554. A commercial treaty between England and Russia was concluded in 1569 and renewals and extensions of the Company's privileges were secured in 1584 and 1586 by Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, Sir Jerome Horsey. But at the time of Mundy's visit other nations were also in the field and the immunities granted to the English were not exclusively enjoyed by them. As early as 1603 the Dutch shipping trade to Russia was greatly in excess of that of the English. See Cawston and Keane, *op. cit.*

By "somwhatt after the Manner off India," Mundy is probably alluding to the *farmān* granted to the English by the Emperor Shāh Jahān in 1638.

[4] The fort adjoining the monastery of St Michael Archangel.

[5] The word Samo-yed, which signifies "self-eater" in present Russian spelling, may have suggested the title of cannibals given to those people by the early Russian traders, or the name may have arisen from their custom of devouring raw meat. Larousse, however, *Grand Dictionnaire*, gives the meaning as "salmon-eater," and the *Encyc. Brit.* suggests that the derivation should be sought in the likeness of the name to Suomi.

[6] "Heatt or colde" should probably be "dry or wet." In Afghanistan the *pōshtīn*, a coat of skin with the hair on, is worn with the hair inside in dry, and outside in wet, weather: *experto crede.*

statured, bigge Mouthed, smalle eyed, somwhatt like Chinois, or rather like Tartars, as swart as the Malayans in the Ilands off Pulo Timaon [and] Pulo Laore by the straightts off Mallacca[1], lying almost under the equinoctiall, aboutt 2 degrees North. They eatt all Manner off Trash, as gutts, garbage, etts., sometymes Raw, sometymes halffe roasted, a very strange wild beastly people, somewhatt like to those aboutt Cape Bona Esperance[2]. As Farre as I could gather From them, they are Neither Christians Nor Turcks, butt observe a certayne religion, having preists off their owne[3]. They may keepe Many wives. They use long bowes and arrowes headed with bone, which they use in their hunting of dear, etts. as allso to Fightt. They come first from a Country lying farre Eastward From hence, called Samoyeda[4]. They are aboutt a Month uppon the way, rowing alonsgst [*sic*] the shoare in little boates. Some returne, butt most off them (there beeing not many here) remayne in certaine Ilands nott Farre From hence all the winter. They bring with them to sell certaine live [rein-]deere, very tall, tame, sleeke and Faire, some all-

[1] Pulo Tioman and Pulo Aor are respectively the most northern and most southern of the string of islands on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, State of Pahang, on the old trade route between the Straits of Malacca and China. See Vol. III, pp. 145, 153, &c., and maps facing p. 153.

[2] See Vol. II, pp. 321–3.

[3] Central Asian Shamanism.

[4] The Samoyeds were nomads from the country between the estuary of the R. Ob or Obi and the R. Irtish in Northern Siberia (the land of the Sibir). See Howe, *Some Russian Heroes*, p. 196; Herberstein, ed. Major, II. 39.

There appears to be no country now called Samoyeda, but Mundy's informant was probably referring to the Yalmal (still the Samoyed's) Peninsula between the Kara Sea and the Gulf of Ob, into which last the Ob or Obi flows beyond Obdorsk.

For other travellers' remarks on the country of the Samoyeds and contemporary descriptions of the people, see *Barents' Three Voyages*, 2nd ed., pp. 54 ff. where they are called Samuters (Samuiten); Fletcher's *Russe Commonwealth*, ed. Bond (Hak. Soc. vol. XX), p. 99, who calls them Samoites and says "the Samoyt hath his name (as the Russ saith) of eating himselfe." *Early Voyages to Russia*, pp. 36, 105 ff., 164, 342, where they are called Samoyds, Samoeds and their country Samogetia; Hamel, *England and Russia*, pp. 145, 166; Olearius, pp. 66–8. Le Bruyn (1701), *Voyages*, vol. III, has a chapter on "Samoïèdes," pp. 16–41 and also pp. 413–19.

most milke white, The Female as well as the Male, bearing large braunched hornes[1].

A Samoyed: his Habitt.

Their manner of habitt is as in the Figure[2]. Their weomen after the same Manner, only their skynne Cloathing was striped aboutt their bosome and armes, which was by sundry smalle peeces off skynne off a differentt coullour sowed therin[3].

Here Follow some Few words of their language and Numbers[4].

[1] Mrs Howe tells me that Samoyeds used until quite lately to visit St Petersburg (Petrograd) with sleighs and reindeer in the depth of winter for a few weeks. They pitched their tents on the ice to the great amusement and delight of Russian children, who took drives on the frozen Neva, drawn in sleighs by reindeer. For contemporary descriptions of reindeer, see authorities quoted in note 4 on p. 137; see also *Martens' Voyage to Spitzbergen*, pp. 79, 147–8.

[2] See Plate V, illustration No. 5. Mundy's drawing and Le Bruyn's illustration of "Homme Samoïède" (III. fig. 22) are similar. Le Bruyn also depicts the "Femme Samoïède" showing the stripes on her upper garments and boots. For other descriptions, see Olearius, pp. 67–8; Pinkerton's *Travels*, I. 64, 527.

[3] Le Bruyn says that the stripes were of cloth (*Voyages*, III. 17): "Samoïèdes...Ils...sont tous habillez de la même manière, c'est-à-dire de peaux de Rennes. Ils ont une robe de dessus, qui leur pend depuis le col jusques aux genoux, le poil en dehors, et de différentes couleurs pour les femmes, qui y ajoutent des bandes de drap rouges et bleues, pour leur servir d'ornement."

[4] Mundy gives quite a small Samoyedish Vocabulary, but what he does give is, as usual, extraordinarily correct and of value historically. In this case again he has shown the accuracy of his ear (see Vol. II. pp. 398 ff.). It has not been easy to check his statements owing to the want of books on the Samoyeds, and one has to trust to the great, but unfortunately incomplete, work of one scholar, Alexander Castren. Between 1854 and 1862 Castren's editor, Anton Schiefner, of the Imperial Academy of Science, St Petersburg, published the *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen* in ten volumes, covering Castren's extraordinary travels and investigations into the Samoyeds in all their varieties of divisions and dialects. In 1854 Dr Schiefner published Castren's *Samojedisch-deutsche Wörterverzeichnisse und Sprachproben aus dem Yurakischen und Ostjak-Samojedischen*, and in 1855 he published Castren's *Wörterverzeichnisse aus den Samojedischen Sprachen*.

Castren's studies covered the five chief dialects of the Finno-Ugrian tongue, known as Samoyedish and widely spread over Northern Europe and Asia, to which the languages of the Lapps, Esths, Finns and Hungarians (Magyars) of Europe are allied. These dialects are Yuriak (Jurak), Ostiak, Tagwy, Yenissei and Kamassin. That with which Mundy had

No. 5. A Samoyed: his habitt.

No. 6. Arckangell: their Churches.

[Samoyedish Language]

English	Mundy's Forms	Castren's Yuriak Forms
God	Khaya	Num[1]
Heaven	Nuin	Num[2]
The divell	Talleea	Äye[3]
Hell	Ya	Ya, yea[4]
The Sunne	Khayare	Hāyer, haiyer, hayar[5]
The Moone	Mungee	Yiry, yirī, yīry[6]
Winde	Mercheea	Mērchea, mearchea, mērche, merta, mertea
Rayne	Soorose	Sāṛu, sāṛo, saḷu
A yeare	Pooh	Po, pō
A month	Geree	Yiry, yirī[7]
A day	Neeney	Yālea, yāle', yaḷe
A night	Peeh	Pi

to do was the first, the Yuriak, and a hunt through Castren's volumes has recovered all Mundy's expressions. I am indebted to Miss M. Vagner and Mrs Sonia Howe for much assistance in this section of Mundy's observations.

[1] Mundy seems to have mixed up the term for "an image of a God" (*Götterbild*), *hahe*, with the word for God. He uses initial *kh* for *h* in other words: *vide* "the Sunne," "a Knife," "Fish," below. See next word.

[2] In Yuriak the terms for "heaven" and "God" are identical. *Num* in fact stands for air, heaven and God. Cf. Ugrian-Ostiak, *num*, that which is above.

[3] Mundy must refer to some particular kind of "devil": cf. *bün äye*, water devil: *thün äye*, wood-devil, lit. earth-devil. Mundy may also have misunderstood the term *tadibea*, a devil-scarer, a *shāman*, for the "devil" that the *shāman* was employed to scare away—a not uncommon mistake.

[4] These terms mean earth, star: *yangyly* means under the earth, subterranean (*unterirdisch*). But of course Mundy was trying to get at something simple enough to him though very difficult to his interpreter. *Ya'* means a glowing coal, and if that is the word he heard, it would be probably due to his explanation of "hell."

[5] Cf. above "God" for the use of initial *kh* for *h*. The Yenissei term is *kaiya* and the Kamassin is *kuya*. Similarly we have Yenissei *kaha*, an image, for Yuriak *hahe* (see "God" above). So Mundy seems to convey that the Samoyedish initial *h* is guttural.

[6] See "A month" below: the term *yiry* means a month. But Mundy was in Archangel from July to September and he may have had the "July moon" pointed out to him. The Yuriaks count only eleven months, July the last of their year being the long month (June and July). The term for the July moon is *muenzhel-ireäd*.

[7] Cf. "The Moone," above.

[Samoyedish Language, *continued*]

English	Mundy's Forms	Castren's Yuriak Forms
Goodmorrow	Teeum or Tabee	Tham[1]
Com hither	Talleeando	Tölend[2]
Bee gon	Khaile	Hainadm[3]
Farewell	Khazzio	Hayo[4]
A Man	Nee aneeche	Nyenethe, nieneche, nienechea nieneche', nienech'[5]
A Woman	Nee-e	Nye, nie, nyie
A Boy	Achequee	'Athekeku, 'atheky, 'acheky, 'achakeu[6]
A girle	Nee achekee	Nie 'ateky
The Sea	Yam	Yam
A boatte	Ano	'Ano
A Hatchett	Tapka	Tubka
A Kniffe	Kharre	Har, harr
Cloath	Naya	Noi, nōi
Skynne	Parca	Parga[7]
A kettle	Yead	Yead, yied
Good	Soava or so a va	Saiva, sauva
Evill or Naughtt	Wuo or Vu o	Waewo, waomadm[8]
Meatt	Umza	'Omsa[9]
Drincke	Yeetoo	Yābi
Flesh	Amza	'Amsu[10]
Fish	Khalleea	Hālea, hāle'
Raw	Ageeua	'Ayebaei, 'aiyebasi

[1] This word, however, means "look there!" (*sieh da!*).

[2] *Tölend* means "come!" (*komm*): *konne tölend* means "come hither!" (*komm hierher*).

[3] *Hainadm* means to go away (*fortgehen*).

[4] Mundy is apparently giving some form of the verb "to go," which in Yuriak is *hajeadm*, *haijeadm*, *hayom*.

[5] All these terms mean a human being, mankind. The term for "a man" is *hāsawa*: Hāsawa is the Yuriaks' name for themselves.

[6] *'Athekeku* means a little child (*Kindlein*): the other term means young (*jung*).

[7] This word, however, is Kamassin for fur, skin (*Pelz*): the Yuriak word for skin is *mālithe*.

[8] *Waewo* means bad (*schlecht*): *waomadm*, to make bad, spoil (*schlecht machen*).

[9] See "Flesh" below.

[10] See "Meatt" above.

[Samoyedish Language, *continued*]

English	Mundy's Forms	Castren's Yuriak Forms
Rosted	Shawdrow	Seadarau, samdarāu
Fire	Tooke	Tu
Water	Yee	Yi
Wood	Peea	Pea[1]
Stone	Paya	Pae

[Numerals][2]

	Mundy's Forms	Castren's Yuriak Forms
1	Voo op	'Ob, 'opoi
2	Seedeea	Sidea, side
3	Neear	Nyahar, nyar
4	Tee et	Tiet, thiet, thet
5	Sambla	Samblyang, sambelyang, sambelyank
6	Mutt	Mat'
7	Shee u	Siu, seu
8	Shindeet	Sidendiet, sidendyēt, sidnyēt
9	Habboy	Habei yu', hāsawa yu'
10	See en Nayoo	Lūcha yu', lusā yu', yu', hāsawa yu'[3]
11	Voo op anga	'Obyanga, 'obyangnya, 'obyangana
12	Seedee anga	Sidyangana
13	Neeare anga	Nyahrangana
20	Seedee oo	Side yu'
30	Neeare oo	Ngaha yu'
40	Tee et oo or u	Tēt yu'
100	Ioore	Yur, yūr

[1] This word means a tree (*Baum*) and also a wood (*Wald*).

[2] At pp. 191–204 of Castren's *Grammatik der Samojedischen Sprachen*, included in his *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, is a long dissertation on *Das Zahlwort*, giving at length the terms used in all Samoyedish dialects for the numerals.

[3] *Hāsawa yu'*. It will be observed that this term is also used for 9 and that there is a simple term *yu'* used for 10. Hāsawa also means mankind (*Mensch*), and metaphorically, a Yuriak; and it is possible that by the expression *Hāsawa yu'* Castren may have meant merely "in Yuriak, *yu'*." This interpretation is supported by his *Lucha* (*Lusa*) *yu'* which means "Russian *yu'*." The term for 10 is undoubtedly *yu'*. But all this does not explain how *Hāsawa yu'* also means 9 and *Hāsawa yu' yūr* means 900, which must remain a puzzle left behind by Castren.

Thus much in breiff I have sett downe off thatt kind off people and their language, which I gathered by a sleightt enquiry and badd interpreters. Itt is somwhatt More or lesse [? correct], somwhatt by eysightt and some by report.

The Russian devotion.

The Russe or Moscovite permitts nott thatt any off any other religion should enter into their Churches butt their owne, which by reportt is after the greekish manner. No carved Images allowed, only painted, which they will Nott sell to any Nor endure thatt any off another Reli[gi]on should handle them. I could nott procure one off their pictures on no termes, Allthough I solicited English and Dutch thatt they would send one of their servauntts to buy one For mee (they beeing openly sould in the Markett). Butt the servantt durst nott, saying if itt should com to bee knowne thatt hee boughtt one For a Stranger, hee should run danger to bee burntt For itt. Soe much do they reverence pictures. There is no greatt worckmanshippe in any thatt I could see, beeing after the Manner as wee see antientt pictures after the old Fashion[1]. By report the Russe use No other paintings to adorne their houses butt off their saintts, holy stories, etts. For their devotion they Crosse themselves att large beeyond measure on sundry occasiones, as passing by their churches, comming into their houses; att sundry places in the streete where their devoted pictures are sett. Nott one butt weares a Crosse aboutt his Necke off gold, silver, Copper, according to their abilities. There [*sic*, ? They] thinck us the worse

[1] The difference between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches in regard to images is fundamental. The latter permits nothing in the way of statuary, but allows pictures (*eikon, ikon*). Any one may buy them nowadays and Greek churches are now open to all comers. Mundy's statements, both as to the closing of Russian churches to foreigners in his time and to the prohibition regarding the sale of *ikons*, may be explained by the following remark of Olearius (p. 134) in 1636: "Heretofore they obliged strangers to have of them ["Images," *i.e.* ikons] in their houses, but the present Patriarch permits not they should be profaned by the Germans...the Peasants would not permit us to touch them." For a general description of Religion in Russia in the 16th and 17th centuries, see Fletcher, *Russe Commonwealth* (1591), chapter on Religion, pp. 101–39; *Early Voyages to Russia*, p. 37; Olearius, pp. 124–45.

Christians or enemies to the Crosse beecause wee weare none[1].

Their Churches.

Their Churches are here of wood, as throughoutt the whole Country, except att Mosco and other greatt Citties, where some are builtt of bricke, by relation. These here have pretty towers, with spires covered with boards [shingles] Finely contrived, cutt and placed one over another, making a handsom shew, as in some places with us slate is used.

Beesides the tower adjoyning to the Church, there is another by itt wherin the bells hang, which are strucken by cords tied to their Clappers[2]. The Number of their Churches att Moscow, the cheiffe Citty, are said to bee above 1500. Itt is no wonder, For they there are 4, 5 and 6 together, as att Arckangell where 3 together[3].

Their houses.

Their dwelling houses after the Manner of their Churches, of wood, allsoe differing in bignesse; the walls off trees placed one over another, the ends inlaid [morticed] one within another, and beetweene caulked with Mosse. The better sort off them are within sides playne, smooth, Nett [clean] and Sweete, nott unwholesom, allthough daungerous For Fire[4].

[1] From the days of Vladimir and the general introduction of Christianity into Russia in the 10th century, the meaning of wearing the cross round the neck by all Russian orthodox Christians has been traditionally the sign of having been baptised.

[2] Compare Olearius (1636), p. 138: "Their Bells are not in steeples, but in a certain Engine, or Machine, neer the Church in the Church Yard and are for the most part so small that few of them are 150 or 200 pounds weight." See Howe, *Thousand Years of Russian History*, p. 137 (illustration).

[3] Olearius (p. 137) estimated 2000 churches and chapels in the city and suburbs of Moscow in 1636. Le Bruyn (1701) only mentions (III. 47–8) two Greek churches in Archangel, "l'Eglise du repos de la Vierge Marie" and "La grande Eglise," besides one for those professing the Reformed religion and one for the Lutherans.

[4] Jenkinson, *Early Voyages to Russia*, ed. Delmar Morgan and H. Coote, I. 27, has a good description of Russian log-houses: "The houses are builded with Wood of Firre trees joyned one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any iron or stone worke, covered with birch Barkes and wood over the same: their Churches are all of wood, two for every parish, one to be heated for Winter and the

The Manner of their Churches, etts., as above[1].

A. Signiffying the principall tower off the Churche.
B. The Church adjoyning to itt.
C. Another Church by thatt.
D. The tower or Fabricke with bells.
E. Their ordinary houses, nott one joyned to the other, allthough standing Near together as att [Cambo][2] by Bayon in France, a towne of Bascos.

Stoves.

In August the[y] beegin their stoves, which are aboutt the Middle off the roome, with sundry places, cupboards, conveyances, etts. round aboutt, over and underneath, where they keepe their provision; as underneath their henns, duckes, etts. The smoake cometh outt into the said roome, aboutt which are benches wheron they sleepe att Nightt on Cusheons, skynnes, etts., and some over the Cackleoven or stove, using No bedds nor chaires. By report this is the Most ordinary Manner off the Common Sort throughoutt. The better sort use white [tiled] stoves, the Fire beeing Made from withoutt, the smoak conveyed away, as att Dantzigke; soe the roomes remayne cleane and white, according to the wood, wheras the other are as smithes Forges or shoppes[3].

other for Sommer. On the toppes of their houses they lay much earth for feare of burning."

A note by the editors on this page gives a description of the method of constructing log-houses. For other descriptions of Russian houses and churches, see *Russia at the close of the 16th century*, p. 19; *Hakluyt's Voyages*, Maclehose edition, II. 268; J. Tradescant, in Hamel's *England and Russia*, pp. 268, 274.

[1] See Plate V, illustration No. 6.

[2] See *ante*, p. 86, and note 4.

[3] Mundy is here describing both the German and the Russian stove. The German tiled stove is the *Kachelofen* (see *ante*, Rel. XXXIII, p. 110 and note). The other is the Russian stove used as a sleeping place. It is not at all the same thing as the *Kachelofen*. The generic term for a stove in Russian is *petchka* and for the stove on which people can sleep *lesjanka*. In every peasant's house it is built of bricks along or close to one of its wooden walls, and consists of two chambers, both with an opening at one end. The upper one corresponds to the grate, in which wood, usually birch, is burnt to ashes and thus heats the whole structure and the chamber around it to one uniform heat. The lower chamber is the oven, in which the family's bread and pots of food are

The Country in generall.

The Country by report suteable to [in accordance with] thatt little which wee have here seene, *viz.*, vast wast with greatt wildernesses, woods, Marishes (No travelling through the Country withoutt a speciall passe[1], No nott to places here adjoyning, as Colmogro [Kholmogory], etts.)[2], as allsoe off their Churches, Religious ceremonies; likewise off their buildings, habitt, Coine, Merchandize, thatt att presentt this place affoards a patterne off all.

Russian proverbe.

They have a certaine proverbe in this Country, that is, Thatt Moscovia hath butt one Keiser [Kaiser, Tsar] or Emperour, one religion, one Manner of habitt, one Coyne [coinage]; to which may bee added, one Manner off Country, and one kind of building, the Former abounding with woodes, Marishes, etts., and the latter off tymber-wood, as Firre, etts. The houses in the English and Dutch courts[3] equallizing their better sort off buildings.

Habitt of the Russe or Moscovite.

Some off their habitts are as Followeth[4]:

A. A Moscovite or Russe in a long garmentt, with a Cappe edged with Furre 2 or 3 Inches broad, a pearle coller aboutt his Necke, aboutt a Finger breadth, like a hattband,

baked. Over the upper chamber the elders and children sleep on the flat top, which forms a comfortable place for a bed. Compare *Barents' Three Voyages*, p. 243: "They showed us great friendship, leading us into their stoaves."

[1] Mundy is apparently mistaken as to the necessity for passes. He seems to be alluding to the fact that foreigners who settled in Moscow and other Russian towns, under Mikhail Romanoff, prior to 1645, had a foreign quarter assigned to them, where they were free to live in their own style. See Howe, *Thousand Years of Russian History*, p. 71.

[2] Kholmogory on the Dvina, the great resort of merchants in the North in the 16th and 17th centuries, as Novgorod was in the South-west. It lies 100 versts or about 70 miles from the sea at Archangel. It was the chief depôt of the Russia Company. For the early history of that Company see the Introduction to Jenkinson's *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia* by E. Delmar Morgan and C. H. Coote.

[3] Court is here used in its obsolete sense of a set of buildings standing in a courtyard: hence a factory.

[4] See Plate VI, illustration No. 7.

sett thicke with pearle; allsoe on the Forepart off his Cappe above the Furre, their beards att Full and att length. By report, they Never shave nor cutt them[1].

B. A Woman apparelled almost like Men, only on their heads a Flatte Cappe edged with beaver; long large earings, one chayne Fastned to both their eares, part hanguing beeffore, soe commeth beehinde over their backes; buskins on their Feete and legges. Principall weomen att Moscow, by relation, wear allsoe collers aboutt their Necks off 2 Inches breadth, sett with pearle, Soe thatt pearle is much used in this Country.

C. Another in a white lynnen Frocke or smocke close aboutt their Necke, comming downe to their Feete: thus the ordinary sort within doores, sometymes without.

D. A Man with his backe turned, where are 2 Capes, one extraordinary large and the other Narrow and small. The under part off the little one is commonly off Ritche stuffe, sometyme embrodered with pearle, and thereffore they commonly wear itt standing upp as in the Figure.

E. The same againe with the Coller downe.

F. A maide in her haire, with a Cappe made into sundry compartments.

G. Another with a high Cappe, Furd withoutt side. In such Manner, they say, the Noblemen att Muscow goe, nott ordinary, butt on some especiall occasion, Furd with blacke Fox.

H. A Married woman within doores, with a Forme Cappe[2] covered with white lynnen, theire haire quite covered, counting it now a shame to have it seene[3].

I. Another thatt sheweth how the Chaine hangueth beehind their backs[4].

[1] Russian peasants never cut their beards. Peter the Great gave great offence by compelling the people to trim them.

[2] Apparently a stiff cap, one in which the material is placed over a wire or cardboard shape.

[3] German Lutheran deaconesses at the present day must not be seen without a cap.

[4] Mundy's observations on Russian dress are very accurate. See 17th century prints in Howe, *Thousand Years of Russian History*, p. 230. Olearius, pp. 75–6, has a long description of the "Habit of the Musco-

No. 7. Habitt of the Russe or Moscovite.

Coyne.

Their greatest Coine is Cupeackes, wheroff aboutt 48 to a $\frac{R}{3}$ [R = Real] off 8tt. or Rex doller—a little More then an English penny. Then the $\frac{1}{2}$ theroff called Muscuscous, and $\frac{1}{4}$ called polluscoes. Then for valuation they have a grosse, 2 Cupeackes; an Alteene, 3 Cuppeackes; a greebna, 10 Cupeackes; a Rubble, 100 Cuppeakes, which is their highest reckoning[1].

Waightt.

Their greatest waightt is a pood, conteyning 40 off their pounds, aboutt 30 lb English[2].

vites" in which he supports Mundy, especially as regards figures A, B, D, E. Cf. Weiss, *Kostüm-Kunde*, pp. 698 ff.; Wunderer, *Reisen*, pp. 205–6; Fletcher, *Russe Commonwealth*, pp. 148–50; and illustrations in Braun and Hohenberg, *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum*, VI. No. 7 Moscovia: Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, p. 217.

[1] The Russian words for the coins and money as given by Mundy are:

Mundy	Russian
cupeacke	kopeka (copeck)
muscuscou	? kushka
polluscoe	polushka (pol = $\frac{1}{2}$)
grosse	groschen (German and not Russian)
alteene	altyn
greebna	grievna
rubble	rouble

The scale given by Mundy works out thus:

2 polluscoe	= 1 muscuscou	= (nearly)	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ English
2 muscuscou	= 1 cupeacke	=	$1d.$
2 cupeacke	= 1 grosse (German)	=	$2d.$
$1\frac{1}{2}$ grosse	= 1 altyn	=	$3d.$
$3\frac{1}{3}$ altyn	= 1 greebna	=	$10d.$
10 greebna	= 1 rubble	=	$8s.\ 4d.$

48 cupeacke = 1 piece of 8 = 1 rix dollar = nearly $4s.$
1 cupeacke = nearly 1 English penny

Russian currency and money have constantly varied greatly both as to intrinsic and exchange value and even in local value. In 1835 the rouble was of 100 copecks and followed Mundy's scale exactly except as to the polushka and "muscuscou," which were called denushka and polushka, the latter being one-fourth and not one-half copeck as Mundy states. The rouble was valued in 1810 at $3s.\ 2\frac{3}{4}d.$ See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, I. 299, 300. In 1917 the copeck was valued at a farthing and the rouble $2s.\ 1d.$

[2] This is the modern scale nearly. In 1835 (see Kelly, *op. cit.*, I. 301) 40 pounds made a pood of 36 pounds avoirdupois.

Measure.

Of Measure the[y] have [blank].

Much business in shortt tyme.

For the tyme here is greatt ex[pe]dition in businesse and much don; aboutt 30 shippes to bee unladen and reladen againe, as likewise the greatt lighters thatt come downe From the country which must bee discharged and laden againe to bee sentt uppe; all to bee don aboutt the space off a Month [or] little More; allsoe much buying and selling—a greatt Markett For the tyme, many off the Country people comming downe to itt[1].

The Country hereaboutts yeilds nott much Corne, Fruit or herbes, etts., such as with us; yett some corne wee saw reaped greene, soe hangued uppe to dry[2]. Butt in other partts of the land more Southerly, there is plenty and enough to supplie other Countries; allsoe some Fruitts, herbes, etts., which the coldnesse of this Climate will nott permitt to grow and ripen, this place lying in 64 degrees [64° 32′] North lattitude. Yett in Summer itt is hotte as with us, butt lasteth nott above 2 monthes or thereaboutts.

In the Feilds here is an incredible quantity off the herbe and roote Angelica[3], allsoe sundry sortts off wild Feild Flowers and long grasse. Whatt groweth here springueth and sprouteth very sodainely, there beeing butt a shortt summer and a long winter.

[1] The Archangel trading season is from May to October: Mundy arrived in the end of July and left early in September.

[2] John Tradescant (in Hamel, *op. cit.*, p. 274) remarks: "Their harvest is in August and the beginning of September...they sowe in May the last, and commonly reap the first of August or the last of July. I have bin showed oats whyte, very good, whiche wer sowne, and mowne, and keapet, thrashed in 6 weeks."

Olearius also (p. 64) says that "sowing and Harvest is all over in two months." I have, however, found no confirmation of Mundy's statement as to the reaping of green corn.

[3] The proper name of the plant, commonly called angelica, the stem of which is candied as a sweetmeat, is *Archangelica officinalis*. It is mentioned by John Tradescant the elder, in 1618, among the plants he saw at Archangel. See Hamel, *England and Russia*, p. 273.

Plenty of provision.

Some gardeins off the common sort were aboutt the towne, butt [I] could not perceave other then cole[1], etts., to grow there. In the Markett were sould severall sorts off berries, herbs, roots, etts. Butt For Flesh provision, itt wantts Nott, as Oxen, sheepe, poultry, wild Foule of sundry sortts, as duckes, geese, swannes, partridges[2], Mooehens [*sic*], herons, etts., here beeing plenty and cheape. Of wild swannes wee saw many hundred in Flightts and in Flockes on the banckes off the River as wee came downe. I saw in a Dutchmans house a peacocke and a peahen as white as Milke, butt I conceave brought here From some other part and reserved For a presentt, allsoe some dear [reindeer] boughtt off the Samoyeds. They were Fedd with hard dry Mosse. More, a bigge Fowle, allmost as greatt as the Saros[3] in East India, which are here by the Dutch called Cranes; and those which wee in Spaine and Turky call Cranes are by them called Owffares[4].

4 Sundry accidentts [occurrences].

In the shortt tyme off our beeing here did beffall 4 accidentts: a Christning, a buriall, a wedding and an execution or punishmentt on offenders.

The Childe was a year old, unchristned For wantt off a Minister, there beeing Now an English preacher com over.

The buriall was off a Dutch Merchantt, interred in part off the ground where the English Make their Cordage, as Cables, hausers, etts. There ly buried Many English and Dutch, Most with wodden Monumentts over them, as have the Russes on the graves by their Churches, allthough not soe artificiall Nor costly.

[1] "Cole" in the 17th century was a generic term for all varieties of *Brassica* (cabbage, kale, &c.).

[2] At Archangel in 1618, John Tradescant the elder and his party were presented by the English Company's Agent with "6 pattriges, not like the English" (Hamel, *op. cit.*, p. 164).

Le Bruyn (III. 49) says that he saw two kinds in 1701 and they could be bought at two sous apiece.

[3] *Saras*, the red-headed or great grey crane. See Vol. II. p. 307.

[4] Mundy has confused the stork and the crane. "Owffare" is his rendering of Dutch *Ooievar*, a stork.

The wedding was off a Dutchman off English stocke with a Lifflanders daughter, who are off the Race off High Germaines who live in these parts, reserving their language, Customes, etts.[1], as the Genoves [Genoese], called now Franckes[2], doe att Constantinople. The Chear and order att the said wedding was Costly and compleatt.

The last was off 3 or 4 theeves, Russes thatt had stollen certaine yughtts[3] or Red hides From the English outt off the lodees or lighters. These were broughtt bound and striptt to the wast, with the goodes under their armes. The hangman [executioner] with a long whippe like a Chawbucke[4] strikes them beehinde, nott over their shoulders not aboutt their sides, butt rightt upp and downe on their backes, soe thatt to see the Manner off itt No Man would thincke itt would hurt them Much; yett leaveth itt long and bloudy stripes beehind. Itt may bee conceaved thatt the sodaine snatching off the whippe, the very end beeing off leather, aboutt 1 Foot long, gives thatt sharpe Jercke or Flercke [flick], as Coachemen with their whippes and boies with slings use to doe; yett, as I said, leaves a sore Marcke. It is reported that att Muscow, ther are those thatt with 3 or 4 blowes will undertake to kill a Man thatt way[5].

Att departure off the shippes all English and Dutch leave the place voide, returning upp into the Country, Most to Moscow, som to Vallogda [Vologda], Colmogro [Kholmogory][6],

[1] The Lifflander's daughter means the daughter of an upper class inhabitant of Livonia of German ("High Germaine") origin. The term Lifflander means Livländer, and Livland = Livonia = Lettonia = Letland = Latvia.

[2] Here we have the general sense of the term Frank (Frangi, Feringhee), used for a Western European all over the East from Constantinople to Japan.

[3] Yughts, Du. *juchten*, Ger. *Juften*, Russian *iukti*, *iufti*, technical English *yufts*. Russia leather.

[4] *Chābuk*, an Indian whip. See Vol. II, pp. 49, 160.

[5] Mundy is describing a species of knout. Fletcher, *Russe Commonwealth*, p. 68, describes the "scourging with whips made of sinowes of whitleather as bigge as a mans finger, which giveth a sore lash and entreth into the flesh." See also Olearius, pp. 123–4.

[6] Kholmogory was close to Archangel and Vologda at about two-thirds of the road to Moscow: both were centres of trade of the Russia Company. See Howe, *Thousand Years of Russian History*, p. 46, and *ante*, p. 145.

etts. Only a Man or 2 off the Russes remayne in their Courts to look to it, For Casualty off Fire, etts., by which in this Country is Much hurt don, allthough Many orders and Much care For prevention.

Windmills.

The inhabitantts on the other side off the Castle [of St Michael Archangel] abide allsoe all the Year long. None suffred to enter the towne off strangers[1], hard by which are Many windmills with wooden sailes.

Musick they use like thatt in Turky[2]. Noe greatt art in thatt, Nor painting, allthough the one Make a pretty shew and the other yeild No unpleasantt sounde.

Clockes.

Clockes they use, butt beegin From Sunriseing to Sunsett, and From Sunsetting till itt retourne againe, the whole devided into 24 howers. Example: if the day bee 17 and the Nightt 7 howers long, then From Sunrising they beegin their tale From 1 to 17 when the sun setts; then againe they beegin to ꝛell For the Nightt From 1 to 7, the tyme off Sunrising[3].

Mr Thomas Wyche, the Agentts deputy.

Here att presentt was Mr Thomas Wyche, deputy For the Agentt. I knew 8 more of his brethren beesides himsellffe, in all 9, *viz.*, 3 in England, 3 in Turky, one in Spaine, one in East India, and now this in Russia; 2 off them I served, one in Constantinople 2 yeare and another in London 3 yeares, who died, as did those in Turky; the rest all living, For oughtt I know att present. They were the Sonnes off Mr Richard Wich, who beesides them had 9 Children More,

[1] See *ante*, note 1 on p. 145.

[2] If Mundy made remarks on music during his sojourn at Constantinople, they have not survived.

[3] Mundy is describing the old *clepsydra* system of reckoning time by hours of varying length to suit the sun time at various seasons. Miss M. Vagner tells me that this system still obtained at Capri within her memory, and it was the Royal, as well as a popular, method in Mandalay, when the British took Upper Burma in 1885.

sonnes and daughters; in all to the Number off 18, by one wiffe[1].

Moscovia: comodities.

The Cheiffest commodities thatt this Country affoards are Ritch Furres, as blacke Foxes, sables, etts., broughtt From Siberia; yughtts [*yufts*] or redd hides, an exceeding quantity; Eylands [*Eland*, elk] skynnes, off which wee make buffe; great store Cavear. For the straightts [Mediterranean seaboard]—Cordage, tallow, hemp, traine oyle off Seales, etts.

Vessells, as shiping.

Their greatest vessells For Sea are lodees or lodges, off aboutt 40 or 50 tonnes, sowed together as in India, in Forme like unto thos wee calle barges with us in the West country aboutt Plinmouth [*sic*] and Falmouth[2]; allsoe large long lighters thatt come downe the River with goods off 2 or 300 tunnes burthen; Raffts off tymber with pretty houses on them, wheron they bring allsoe goodes; pretty small skiffes called yolls [yawls], with other off sundry Forme.

Beares.

In the English hoffe [Ger. *Hof*] or court were Many yong beares, some tied, some loose. Some would play as Familia[r]ly with boies and Children as a little dogge, and they would play and sport with dogges as one dogge would doo with another.

[1] For an account and pedigree of the Wyche Family see Vol. 1, App. B. Thomas Wyche was the second of the eighteen children of Richard Wyche, with whom Mundy was intimately connected. Richard Wyche was a member of the Russia Company, which accounts for the employment of his son at Archangel. The name of Thomas Wyche is among the English merchants mentioned in the Charter granted to the Russia Company by the Tzar Mikhail Romanoff in 1628. See Page, *The Russia Co.*, pp. 179–92.

[2] See *ante*, p. 133 and note. John Tradescant (1618) describes the "lodgen" as having "the appearance of one lighter turned upside down on another. The entrance was from the side; the deck lined inside with the bark of trees (*lubki*) and the seams caulked with tarred moss." The mast and sails he found to resemble those of the Gravesend barges. He mentions the streamers usually placed on the mast, together with hawks' and horses' bells, as well as on the long and thick rudder. See Hamel, *England and Russia*, pp. 278–9.

Mazure Cuppes.

Here are certayne Cuppes made off the roote off [the] beech tree, some very much esteemed and off greatt price, termed Mazure, and by report will turn in and out beeing putt into hotte water[1].

An intention.

I had a good mynde to have gon uppe to Moscow, beeing therunto perswaded and invited therunto by some off the English (which lies aboutt the lattitude off Dantzigk, beetweene 54 and 55 degrees[2], off a Milder temper [temperature] then this place, allthough exceeding cold), And From thence in January to have come overland in sleads over the Ice and Snow unto the Narve[3] or some other place in the East Sea, and soe to Dantzigk.

Reasons to the Contrary.

Butt itt requiring a greatt deale off tyme, endurance, danger, expence, etts., and som inconvenience to other occasions which concerned Mee to looke affter, I thoughtt good to rest mee satisffied with whatt I had seene her[e] and to returne againe by Sea, Soe agreed with Skipper Mathias Paulson in the *Fortune off Hambro*, a smalle vessell off aboutt 7 or 8 score tonnes.

The 2d off September 1641. Wee sett saile From Arckangell, and the 3d wee came to the Rivers [Dvina] mouth, where wee awaited till the 9th, beeing uppon Full moone, For a spring tide to gett over the barre, having First putt outt into a lodgee 30 or 40 tonnes off goodes to lighten our shippe. Itt was once thought thatt all the shippes, there beeing 9 or 10 in number (by reason of the difficulty and danger in getting over), should have gon backe and perforce

[1] Mazer, masure, &c. (from O.H.G. *masar*, excrescence on a tree, M.H.G. *maser*, excrescence on a tree, maple): a bowl, or goblet without a foot, made of "mazer" wood. In N. Russia cups are made out of birch burrs, called by German-speaking Russians *Birkenmasern* (birch-measles) from their spotted appearance. The story about their turning inside out probably refers to their great pliability when in hot water.

[2] Danzig lies in 54° 21′ and Moscow in 55° 45′ north latitude.

[3] Narva on the Narova near the Gulf of Finland was then an important starting point for Moscow by the ordinary route from the West.

to have gon downe the other Channell, and soe over thatt, where they say is aboutt 15 or 16 Foote water, and here butt 10. Butt, in Fine, wee sett over and strooke shrewdly [sharply] thatt itt made all Cracke, allthough butt once. Others were a ground, and others returned backe to lighten themselves yett more. Some came over with us[1].

The 11th ditto [*September* 1641]. Wee sett saile From the barre in company off 2 other Hamburgers who came From thence together, beeing a Consort shippe.

The 22th [*September* 1641]. Att evening wee passed by the North Cape, 4 or 5 leagues offe. Hereaboutts wee had sharpe cold weather, Frost, haile and Snow. Salt water did Freeze, allthough nott Much, the Ice itt selffe not very Saltt. The Cape bore South aboutt 6 a clacke [*sic*] afternoone.

Sheroy Iland: high land and covered with Snow.

The 23d [*September* 1641]. In the Morning wee saw Suroy [Sorö], an Iland. All thatt day wee sailed alongst by Mountainous high uneven land, part maine, part Ilands, a goode tracte theroff quite covered with snow, soe thatt the least spotte could not bee perceaved For many leagues and as Farre within the land as wee Could discerne.

The Maelstrome.

The 24th of September 1641. Wee allsoe sailed by high uneven land, Much wind, a growne sea, all in Favour. This evening wee saw the Iland Luffoet [Lofoten Is.], beetweene which and [blank] lies the Maelstrome, off which very strange things are written. Butt perhappes itt is no other then strange currentts among the Ilands, with uneven ground thatt causes thatt turning tumbling streame, as the Race off Portland[2].

[1] The Northern Dvina or Syevernaya Dvina enters the Gulf of Archangel about 50 miles below the city, in the neighbourhood of which it divides into three channels forming a delta. Of these, the channel navigable by sea-going vessels is the Berezov, which, however, is impeded by a bar. The other channel mentioned by Mundy is the Pudoshem of Hamel, *England and Russia*, p. 264.

[2] Although the fantastic legend or myth of a great whirling cavity in the water, which found its way from the pages of Pontopiddan to sober English school books, is now exploded, it may be of some interest to give a few prosaic facts concerning the once dreaded Malström, or

The 27th [*September* 1641]. Wee saw Stadtland, beetweene which and [blank][1] lyeth Dronten [Trondhjem] Bay, high uneven land covered with Snow.

The 28th [*September* 1641]. Wee were thwartt off of [*sic*] Bergen in Norway, the land in sightt very high, uneven, allsoe covered with Snow.

The 29th [*September* 1641]. The sea water was very greene[2], wee now beeing beetweene Scottland and Norway.

more properly Moskenström, which runs between Mosken and Lofotodden. Apart from all exaggeration, the Malström (grinding stream) is the most dangerous tideway in Lofoten, its violence being due in great measure to the irregularity of the ground, which rises rapidly from the westward towards the east end of the strait, while on the south side the streams are obstructed by a bank northward of Vaerö. The stream attains its greatest velocity, about six knots an hour, during westerly gales in winter. Its direction depends very much on the wind and weather. With a westerly gale at sea, it often runs continuously to the eastward during both flood and ebb, either slackening or perhaps remaining quiescent for a short time at the turn of the tide, but soon acquiring fresh strength and resuming its easterly course. If the sea should be getting up, and the tide rising at the same time, the rush of water is considerable, and the channel quite unnavigable. In winter it often happens that a westerly gale at sea will send a heavy swell in towards the coast, while there is clear weather over the land and a steady easterly wind blowing out of Vest Fiord. Under these conditions the surges swell to an extraordinary height, and rage and break with great violence over the whole space between Lofotodden and the Högholms, and as the strength of the tide increases, the sea becomes heavier and the currents more irregular, forming extensive eddies or whirlpools. At such times no vessel should enter the Malström, but in fine settled weather the fishermen have no hesitation in sailing upon the stream, or drifting with it, and the frightful vortex, which not so very many years ago was one of the articles of our geographical faith, may be fished in, or even bathed in, from a yacht's dinghy (*Norway Pilot*, Pt. II, p. 323).

If the matter-of-fact Mundy's terse dismissal of the renowned Malström had been known to his contemporaries, they would have regarded him as an iconoclast, who attacked the most cherished faiths of their childhood; and the fact that a widespread belief in some of the "very strange things" to which he refers survived him by about a couple of centuries, enhances our respect for his shrewd discrimination.

[1] Smölen and Hitteren are the largest islands on the north side of the entrance to the long channel leading to Trondhjem, but Smölen is about 100 miles northeastward of Stadt or Stadtland, and it is quite possible that some other conspicuous landmark may have been mistaken for the latter. See *Norway Pilot*, Pt. II (1880), pp. 194, 238.

I am indebted for this and the preceding note to the kindness of Lt.-Comdr. G. T. Temple, R.N., author of *The Admiralty Pilots for Norway*.

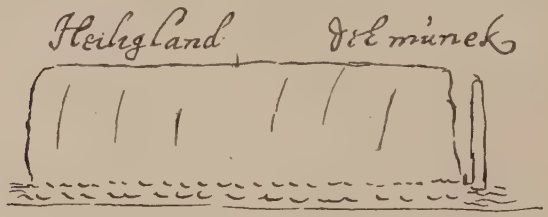
[2] The colour of the ocean varies from a pure blue in its deepest parts to a greenish colour as it nears the land. Local circumstances cause

Many Miles in Few daies.

From the 22th Currantt [September 1641], aboutt 6 in the affternoone, untill this presentt, allsoe att 6 in the affternoone, beeing 7 Full daies, wee had very strong Northerly windes, soe thatt wee sailed in the said tyme Near uppon 400 leagues, *viz.*, From 5 leagues to the Northward off the Cape untill wee came within 40 leagues off the Mouth off the Elbe, bearing From us by Judgementt ESE. Allsoe wee depressed the pole[1] in the said space $15\frac{3}{4}$ degrees, *viz.*, From $71\frac{3}{4}$ unto 56, a greatt and sodaine alteration off Climate, the ayre beecomming warmer and warmer, allthough winter came on. I doe nott thinck thatt in all my liffe in soe short a space to have [had] a greater Run. That Nightt came the wind S.E.

Holyland: an Iland.

The 3d October 1641. Wee saw the Iland of Heligland or Holy land[2]; very Faire weather, contrary wind, a short



hollow Sea, having thes 3 or 4 daies labeered or plyed to windward[3]. The head off the said Iland bearing From us

changes in its appearance in many parts. The great Chinese rivers bringing down quantities of yellow mud explain the name Yellow Sea. The Red Sea takes its name from the colour given to its waters by a vast host of tiny sea plants.

[1] This expression "depressed the pole" for "ran southwards" is not in the *O.E.D.*

[2] The derivation of Heligoland as given by Mundy is supported by Jellinghaus, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* (1913) who gives Helgoland *s.v.* Hailig (=Middle Low German *hillich*, *i.e.* holy), with the forms Halagland, Heiligland, Eligland. Other derivations suggested are "Halk Land," ? High Land, and Halligland, "the land of banks which cover and uncover."

[3] Labeer=laveer, an obsolete nautical expression, Du. *laveeren*, to beat to windward, to tack.

SEbE, some 3 leagues, appeares thus, there standing close to itt by itt selffe a very high sharpe smalle rocke called the Muncke or the Frier. Itt is No lesse then 35 Fathom high att presentt, and in Former tymes equall in heightt to the headland; som off the toppe Fallen away[1].

Danger: no hurt.

Sayling onward alongst by the said Iland rightt against the sandy bay, aboutt halffe a league From the shore, Faire weather, pilotts abroad, I say, sayling thus securely, wee beeing all att dynner, Our shippe sodaynely strooke to all our amazementt, the place dangerous, the ground rocky and Foule[2]. Shee raked Forth [scraped along the ground] a while and att length lay fast; butt itt pleased God wee were under the lee off the Iland, soe thatt there wentt no Sea att all. Had itt bin otherwise the shippes and goods had bin endaungered. Butt wee came clear off withoutt hurt by helpe off a Flowing water [rising tide].

The 4th off October [1641]. Att Nightt wee all arrived in saffty to Geluckstade [Glückstadt]. God be praised. Here the king off Denmarcke hath a Faire house, the seelings off the Roomes most Richly painted overhead, a long gallery Furnished with pictures, amon[g] the rest, the Emperour and Empresse of Germany, king and queene off Spayne with their sonne, and divers others[3].

[1] For the interesting legend connected with the rock, known as Der Mönch in Mundy's day, see Black, *Heligoland*, p. 9. The original Monk rock disappeared in 1829 and the real name of the rock now called by that name is Neistack, Near Piece (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*).

[2] Though the red cliffs of the Rock Island of Heligoland are most familiar to seamen entering the Elbe, there are in reality two islets, the second being the Dune or Sand Island, now lying a quarter of a mile east of the main one, though at one time connected with it by *de waal*, a neck of land which the sea broke through and destroyed in 1720. This probably formed the sandy bay which Mundy mentions. There are dangerous reefs, running chiefly to the northward, round both islands, but the particulars given are not sufficiently detailed to enable us to fix the exact position of the ship when she struck.

[3] The house or castle of Glückstadt was named Glücksburg, and was a favourite residence of Christian IV. Erected in 1630–31, it stood on the south side of the present Schlossplatz, and was a building without wings, but with one large and two small towers. It fell into rapid decay

Stode.

The 5th [*October* 1641]. Wee left the shipp there and came to Stode [Stade] with som passengers bound For Holland: the place of no greatt consequence or comlinesse, allthough in Former tyme the English had their staple there, which is now att Hamburgh[1].

The Bishoppe of Breame: Bremenffiord.

The 6th [*October* 1641]. Wee came to Bremen Fioerd [Bremervörde] where the Bishoppe off Breme [Bremen] hath a Faire house or strong hold, with a garrison. The said Bishoppe is the king of Denmarcks 2d sonne. Hee is entituled a Bishoppe, allthough hee have no eclesiasticall orders, butt is rather a temporall lord thatt holdeth possessions under thatt title, and therfore may nott Marry, For then should hee Forfait certayne priviledges and revenewes thatt hee hath in the bishopricke, having little to doe in the Citty off Breame, itt beeing one off the Hanstownes[2].

Wee passed some 4 miles Farther and stayed all Nightt; the land hitherto much heath, and woods off great oakes and Beeche, Full off Mast [beech nuts and acorns], store off

and the whole fabric, except the church and the tower, was pulled down in 1708. The ceiling decorations were removed and used for the ceilings of the top story of Frederiksberg Castle. See Lucht, *Glückstadt*, pp. 29–30; Friis, *Saml. til Dansk Bygnings- og Kunsthist.*, pp. 83, 94.

[1] See *ante*, p. 118 and n. 3.

[2] "Hanstowne," *i.e.* a town of the Hanseatic League and therefore not under the King of Denmark or the Bishop of Bremen, his son.

Frederik, second son of Christian IV, afterwards Frederik III of Denmark, was from 1634 the 49th and last Archbishop of Bremen until 1648, when the Archbishopric was secularised by the Treaty of Westphalia and became the Duchy of Bremen under the Swedish Crown. Frederik, while Archbishop, married in 1643 Princess Sophie Amalie of Brunswick-Luneburg. See Roller, *Versuch einer Geschichte der...Stadt Bremen*, I. 277–281; III. 233–6.

Bargrave, who visited Bremervörde in 1652, remarks (fol. 88): "Bremers Foort, wherein is a Strong Castle, formerly the Residence of the Byshop of Breme (the same who is now King of Denmark), but at present under the Suedes, and commanded by a Scotch Man: to this Castle belongs a Guarden very large, uniforme, Beautyfyd with many Varieties of walkes, arbours and Figures, and well stor'd with Flowers and Plants, so that it exceeds any I have seen, unless of a Prince, or in Italy."

hogge, this beeing in Westphalia[1]. Beetween Bremenfioerd and [blank] is a place off Near 100 houses among the trees, nott one Joyming [*sic*] to another, and yett nott Farre asunder, soe thatt a Man cannot see a house till hee is amongst them, even as att Achem on Sumatra[2].

Bremen: Citty.

The 7th of October [1641]. Wee came to the Citty off Bremen, scituated on the River Wesder [Weser], which runneth close along beffore itt with a pretty Fresh currantt. Itt lyeth aboutt 60 or 70 English Miles From the Sea: a Faire prospectt From without, having Many Churches with high spires covered with Copper as those att Hamburgh, butt the Churches here Nott soe Full off Imagery and painting, and those there rather like to some I have seene in England, *viz.*, a plaine Altar with the Commaundementts and Scripture sentences in sundry places[3]. The tower and spire off Saintt [blank] Is a very high wellbuilt and well-proportioned peece of worke[4].

Within are many handsome streetes and Faire edyfices, as the ratehouse[5], etts., throughoutt [full] off Cittizens. A strong and Compleat wall such as are used in these parts[6], Furnished

[1] In Mundy's day the frontier of Westfalen, or the Westphalian Circle, did not absolutely follow the boundary line of the Weser, and the whole of the Bishopric of Werden (in, or close to which, Mundy may then have been), though on the right bank of the Weser, belonged to Westphalia. See Spruner-Menke, *Histor. Handatlas*, No. 42 and inset.

[2] Mundy had been twice to Achin in Sumatra, from 22 April to 2 June 1637 and from 3 Feb. to 3 March 1638 on his way to and from China with Courteen's Fleet. See vol. III. pp. 115–45, 329–38.

[3] Compare Bargrave's description of Bremen (fol. 88): "We went over heathy Plaines to the City of Breme, a free City of the reformd Relligion, where only One Church is allotted to the Lutherans. Breme is a Seaport, seated on a low sandy plaine. The Churches in it are more remarkeable for theyr Fabrick, then theyr adornments."

[4] In Mundy's time there were standing in Bremen three famous spires: the northern spire of the Cathedral (St Peter's): the spire of St Ansgarius: and the spire of St Stephen's. Roller, *op. cit.*, I. 101, 111, &c. See also Le Laboureur, p. 96.

[5] The Rathhaus, erected in the fifteenth, with additions in the following century. Bargrave remarks of it (fol. 88): "The Rought-house is indeed stately adornd with the Statues of the auntient Byshops of Breme."

[6] The part of the city which Mundy saw was the Altstadt, formerly enclosed by ramparts. Cf. Bargrave, fol. 88.

with many Faire peeces of Brasse ordnance, Most off the sort wee call [blank], beeing very long and small, conteyning aboutt 18 or 20 Foote some off them[1]. On the toppe of the said walle is a Fine pleasauntt walke, From whence is a Fine prospect: First a Farre off into the Country on all sides, then Nearer hand the gardeins off the Burgesses lying one by one close withoutt the wall, even the length off itt, both ends reaching to the River[2]. Within the said gardein lies the dike Full off sweete water, Furnished From the River and stored with Fish. Within the said dike, adjoyning to the wall, is a quicksett hedge, and within thatt againe ranckes off Fruit trees; beetweene both a walke, then the wall itt selffe, beeing off an equall heightt, att presentt like a Fine steepy greene bancke. I say, From the toppe theroff is one off the Delightsomest prospects thatt a Man shall see, and the walke theron Noe lesse recreative.

The Citty lyeth long wise on the River. Now they were in hand to encompasse a good peec[e] off land on the other side off the said River and to bring a wall to Correspond or answear to thatt on this Side[3]. Itt is one off the Henstades [Hanse Städte] or Hanstownes, indifferently Furnished with people; Nott oppressed with Multitudes, Nor Melancholy solitary For want off Company: Few shipping; somwhatt to bee compared to Gloster or Worcester in England, which Consist Most off Inland trade. In conclusion, a plenteous pleasantt and healthffull seatt, a Fine Civill [well-ordered], convenientt and comodious place to live in after my minde, For soe much as I yett saw. Itt hath a bridge over the Wesder, under which are 12 or 14 Cornemills which lie beetweene the Arches. Att the one end is a water Mill or engine to draw upp water, One wheel wheroff I conceave was No lesse

[1] Probably patareros, swivel guns. See Bowrey, ed. Temple, p. 254 and n.

[2] The modern promenades are laid out on the old ramparts and at present, as in Mundy's day, are one of the principal ornaments of the city.

[3] Bremen is divided by the Weser into the Altstadt on the right bank and the Neustadt on the left bank. Mundy is referring to the building of the Neustadt. See Roller, *op. cit.*, I. 114, III. 124 ff.

No. 8. Bremen: habitts there.

then 35 Foote diameter[1]. On the other side of the River was a sawing Mill, the best contrived I have seene.

Habitts there.

Many of the weomen here use a very strange kind of Attire and habitt, as per the Figures, *viz.*[2]:

A. Is one with a blacke vaile such as the[y] use att Hambro, thickly plaited, with a peake standing Forth well 18 (if not 20) Inches long and nott above $1\frac{1}{2}$ breadth, worne both by yong and old, such as are Married, allthough nott soe generall.

B. These weare a kind off a Fardingale under their coattes, over which their coates ar bound and tucked uppe, reaching Neverthelesse to the ground; over thatt a wastcoate, as per the Figure[3].

The 9th ditto [*October* 1641]. I returned backe.

The 11th [*ditto*]. I came to Stode [Stade].

The 12th [*ditto*]. I came to Altnoe [Altona].

The 13[*th ditto*] to Hambro [Hamburg].

The king of Denmarcks leager by Hambro.

The 15th [*October* 1641]. I wentt to the king of Denmarcks campe lying att Phoolesbittle [Fuhlsbüttel], within 4 English Miles off Hambro. Itt is a place enschaunst[4] or Fortiffied, with a wall or banck off Earth, turff, etts., aboutt 2 English miles in compasse, wherin ly aboutt 10ⱽ000 men, their hutts

[1] Mundy is correct. There were cornmills between the arches and a great Water Wheel, which lasted till 1700. See Roller, *op. cit.*, Th. I, pp. 227–28; III. 489 n.; IV. 12–13; Leupold, *Theatrum machinarum hydraulicarum*, I. pp. 29–31.

[2] See Plate VII, illustration No. 8.

[3] A. The *huik* or huke with its strange projecting ornament, was adopted in Germany in the latter part of the 16th or early in the 17th century. The support or ornament of the *huik* was modified in many instances to singular forms peculiar to certain localities, resembling horns, the beak of a ship, etc. See *ante*, Rel. XXXII. p. 79; see also Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 1039; Köhler, *Trachten*, III. 295.

B. The *Huftioulst* (*Hüfte-Wulst*, hip-roll or pad), *i.e.* the little farthingale or roll about the hips, was still in use in Mundy's time in Germany, especially amongst the peasantry. See Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 1038; and illustration in Braun and Hohenberg, *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum*, *s.v.* Frankfurt.

[4] Enschaunst is Mundy's spelling of enscance, an obsolete variant of ensconce, to entrench, fortify, or else his rendering of Ger. *eingeschanzt*, from *einschanzen*, with the same signification.

of turff and straw lying in rancks and order like streetes; store off Feild Ordnance, ready Mounted on carriages, in a spacious place encompassed, where was a gibbett, a strapado, and a wooden Cammell[1] For offenders, according to the quallity off their offence: no abuses [offences] yett. Preparation For prevention in Hambro, as jealous [fearful, suspicious] off him, allthough there bee other pretences given outt, the land round aboutt the Citty beeing his in possession[2].

Lubeck.

The 16th of October [1641]. I departed From Hambro, and the 17th ditto wee came to Lubicke. This is a place of much trade. They dare vauntt thatt they have More shipping which properly beelong to their Citty then Amsterdam itt selfe or any other Citty or port in Christendome; by report uppward off 400[3]. Much hoppes groweth aboutt this place, the beere

[1] Strappado: a punishment formerly used in military discipline in which the victim's hands were tied across his back and secured to a pulley: he was then hoisted from the ground and let down half-way with a jerk.

The "wooden Cammell" punishment was no doubt similar to that of the Wooden Horse, in general use at this period. See Grose, *Mil. Antiquities*, II. 106, for a description and illustration of this latter form. See also Olafsson, ed. Phillpotts, I. 101.

[2] Christian IV had a long quarrel with the Hamburgers, beginning as far back as 1621. In 1641, tired of the lengthy negotiations, he established a fortified camp at Fuhlsbüttel, to the north-east of Hamburg and a possession of the town. The quarrel was in full swing at the time of Mundy's visit. Christian IV got the better of the town in 1643, withdrew his troops and settled down to the development of Altona. See Wichmann, *Heimatskunde*, p. 166; Bain, *Scandinavia*, pp. 145, 157; J. Bremer, *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins*, pp. 258–260.

[3] Bargrave in 1652 (fol. 83) supports Mundy's statements regarding the commercial prosperity of Lübeck in the following words: "Lubeck is a Hans-towne protected by the Emperour, yet it neither payes Tribute (of consequence) nor has Appeales in Law, like Dantzick to the King of Poland. I conceive it much bigger then Dantzick. The Buildings are not so faire, but the Streets larger, and most curiously long, straight and dry. It is trenchd with a deep River, where all Vessells that draw not above ten foot water, may lie within the workes, and come freely in and out; and its bigness and compass suffices to receive thousands of them; so that Questionless the world conteins not a more convenient mold or Harbour. About 700 Vessells appertein properly to the toune." But the German local historians state that the decline of Lübeck had set in by the beginning of the 16th century and continued on to the 17th. See Behrens, *Topogr. und Statistik v. Lübeck*, Th. I, 169–189; *Geogr. Gesellsch. Lübeck, Die...Hansestadt Lübeck*, pp. 25, 119. For a good contemporary (1641) illustration of Lübeck, see Dietz, fcg. p. 108.

much requested and transported to divers other parts; little off itt here drancke, beeing termed Seabeere[1] rather. Hamburger beere is here better esteemed; Rumble dowse[2], etts., more used.

An admirable weizer[3] or diall.

In our Ladies Church, beehind the Altar, Is an admirable artificiall dyall, Farre surpassing thatt att Hambro, this having the whole 7 planetts; Many other greater wheeles underneath with rare Motions alofft, all ritchly sett Forth and Neattly keptt. Itt is a peece off Worcke thatt deserves admiration and would well require a little booke to declare the signiffication off the severall Motions[4].

2 stone pillars.

Within one of the said Church doores stand 2 stone pillars supporting the rooffe, aboutt 30 Foote in height each, and 1 Foote diameter, beeing 8 square, vallued att greatt price. The one is entire; the other hath a peece off about 2 Foote Joyned to itt to make itt equall to the other[5].

[1] That is, "export beer." The expression "sea-beer" is not in the *O.E.D.*

[2] Rummeldeus, Rummeldeisz, Rummeldossz, a white beer (*Weissbier*) brewed in Ratzeburg. Rumpelbier is a light beer brewed at Frankenhausen in Schwarzburg. See Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, *s.v.* Rummeldeus.

[3] Mundy is using the German word *Weiser*, hand of a clock, for its dial.

[4] This still existing large astronomical clock in the Church of St Mary at Lübeck was constructed by Matthias van Ort in the years 1561–66 to replace an earlier one of 1405. There are three external divisions, the lower containing a hundred years' calendar, the central one a planetarium, and the uppermost the so-called "Kurfürsten-Werk." At midday a door opens therein, and seven figures of Apostles and Electors come forth and circle round before a little figure which imparts the benediction with one hand. They re-enter on the opposite side, and the last one closes the door. See *Geogr. Gesellsch. Lübeck, Die...Hansestadt Lübeck*, pp. 190, 193; *Geogr. und Statistische Beschreibung des Herzogth. Holstein*, pp. 93–94.

[5] Compare Moryson, 1. 8: "In the Porch thereof (Saint Maries Cathedrall) are three Marble pillars, each of them thirtie foot long of one stone, onely one of them is peeced for one foot." He and Mundy are alluding to the slender octagonal monoliths supporting the star vault of the South-western chapel. See *Geogr. Gesellsch. Lübeck*, *op. cit.* p. 196.

Weomens habitts.

Some of the habitt there used is hereunder sett[1], *viz*:

A. Some of the better sortt, having a black vaile which sometymes the[y] wear over all and sometymes lett partt off itt Fall, making itt Fast aboutt their Necks, which causeth thatt bagge which hangueth beehind: aboutt their necks a kind off double Ruffe in such a Manner thatt itt cometh over their chynnes.

B. Another with a straw hatt in Forme off a baskett, very nettly wroughtt and woven. These are used For Sunne and Rayne, as allso perhappes nott to bee seene, For except they will [it] themselves, you may hardly see their Faces as they goe through the streetes.

C. Another off the same, the maides wearing bands as round as a Circle, withoutt vailes. These baskettlike hatts are allsoe used att Hambro and thereaboutts, butt not much.

D. Are such as I saw some there, as allsoe att Dantzigk, beeing told thatt it was the habitt off the better sort off weomen, gentry, etts. off Meklenburg and Holstein. These 2 places border on Lubeck.

E. Another off the same. They Now weare Furrd cappes: otherwise in summer[2].

The 24th of October [1641]. I departed from Lubeck and came down to the Munde or mouth of the River Drave[3], where is a Fortiffication with a Lanthorne tower [lighthouse] as att Dantzig Munde[4].

The 25th [*October* 1641]. I came aboard the shipp *Fortune*

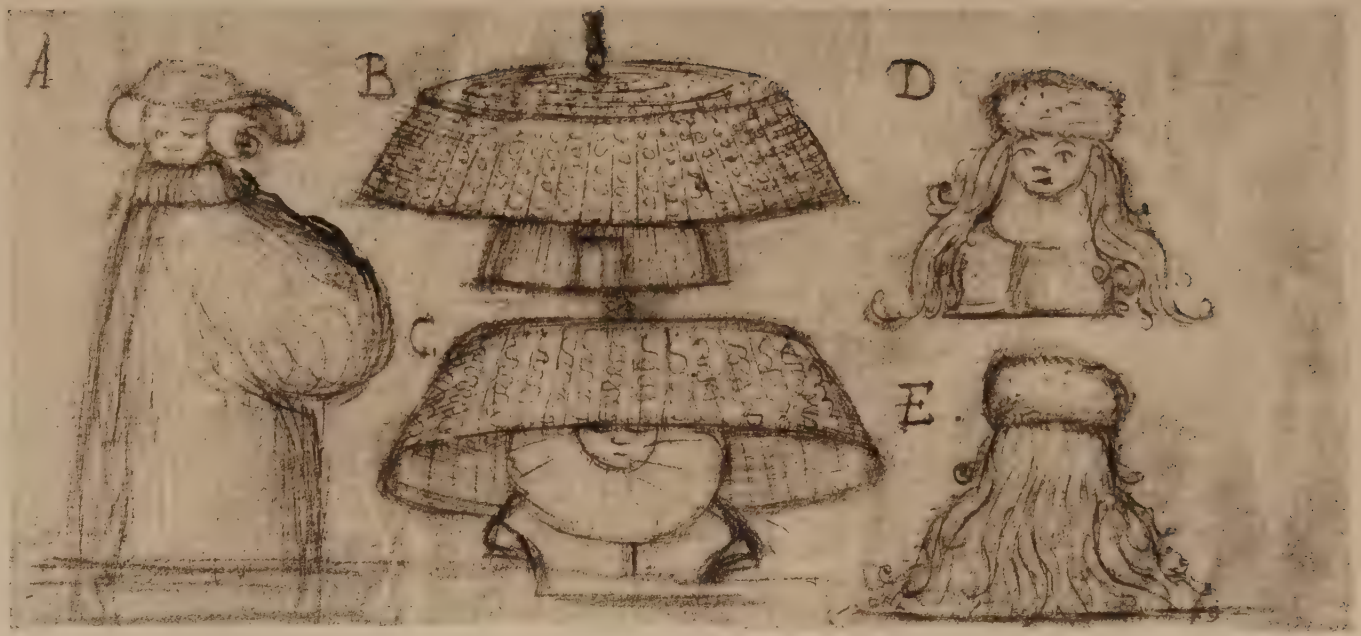
[1] See Plate VIII, illustration No. 9.

[2] As regards the head-coverings marked B and C, large basket-shaped hats of various forms were common in the Hanse towns, Holland, Denmark and Northern Germany generally, in Mundy's day, and smaller ones were still in vogue up to a much later date.

Fur caps (see D and E) were common both in N. Germany and Poland. See Planché, *Cyclopædia of Costume* (*General*), p. 266; Weiss, *Kostüm-Kunde*, p. 1065; Braun and Hohenberg, *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum*, VI. 12. See also Moryson, IV. 206 ff.

[3] Travemünde was the port of Lübeck before the deepening of the river.

[4] See *ante*, p. 88 n. 3.



No. 9. Lubeck: weomens habitts.

off Lubecke, to pay 2 ℔[1] For my passage, with my Chest, bedding, etts., with accomodation in the great Cabbin, bringuing your own provision. Other ordinary passengers pay butt 1 ℔ or Reichs doller. From Amsterdam unto Dantzigk I paid 2 ℔ per Weeke For the like accomodation, butt had my diett with the skipper in the said reckoning. Other comon people pay 1 ℔ per weeke uppon their owne provision: the like rate beetweene Hamburgh and Russia. This is the ordinary paymentt For passage in those parts[1]. Thatt evening wee sett saile From the Mund afforesaide.

The 28th [*October* 1641]. Wee came as high as Riggeshoffe [Rixhöft], aboutt 13 leagues From Dantzig, where the wind Took us contrary; very Faire weather and butt an indifferent [light] gale, yett would wee not ply to windward, rather came to Anchor under the land, in company off 10 or 12 saile More. Itt made mee wonder why they mightt nott turne to windward as in other partts, especially having a lightt Moone, Faire weather and Sea roome, and butt Few leagues to recover. Som reasons they alleadged, as whatt danger they should incurre if itt should overblow[2], when they should not be able to hold the coast. Butt I thinck the greatest was they were loath to labour. Yett att last, affter wee had there remayned 2 or 3 daies, wee were Faine to labeere or turne itt uppe[3], which wee did in 2 daies space, and saffely arrived to the road off Dantzigk, God bee praised, on the last off October.

The First of November 1641. I wentt ashoare att the Munde, and From thence uppe to the Citty, itt beeing 6 monthes wanting 1 day since my departure hence on this voyage.

[1] From these statements we can see (as Mundy meant by a rix-dollar about four shillings English, see *ante*, p. 79) that there were two classes of passage, *viz.* with and without diet, from Amsterdam, Hamburg and Lübeck to Danzig. The rates for both classes from Amsterdam and Hamburg were reckoned by the week, as entailing the long voyage round Denmark and through the Sound, whilst the fare from Lübeck was a single payment of one or two rix-dollars, according to class. The latter voyage would last considerably less than a week under ordinary conditions.

[2] See *ante*, p. 112 n. 3.

[3] See *ante*, note 3 on p. 156. The two expressions are synonymous for "to turn to windward; to tack."

Computation of miles gon this presentt voyage, *viz.*

	Miles English	
From Dantzigk unto Lubeck is accompted 80 Dutch Mile; each Dutch Mile is 4 English	320	
From Lubeck unto Hamburgh	40	
From Hamburgh unto St Michaell Arckangell in Russia is accompted to bee aboutt 500 Dutch Miles, makes	2000	
	——	2360
Outtward bound wee have gon and sailed the som off English Miles	2360	
Homeward bound, returning the same way, the like some		2360
Somme totall of miles gon this voyage aforesaid	Is	4720

Note thatt by sundry Mappes in this booke[1] (by which in many things I have guided my selffe concerning distances), I find thatt From Dantzigk to Arckangell in Russia is 630 Germaine Miles[2], wherof 1 contains 4 English, is Miles 2520 or 840 leagues, so thatt the Computation above is 520 Miles short outward; and so much homeward is 1040. Also a Journey From Hamburg to Stode and Bremen and backe is Miles 80; together is Miles 1120, which added to the above said summe, the whole will amount to Miles 5U840.

[1] These maps are by Hondius and are not reproduced. See vol. 1, pp. 1, 6.

[2] See *ante*, p. 64 and note. See also Moryson, II. 162–164 for varying miles in Europe.

RELATION XXXV

OF DANTZIGK: SOME PERTICULARITIES OF THAT CITTIE BREIFLY SET DOWNE, AS ALSO MY DEPARTURE THENCE AND ARRIVAL HOME TO ENGLAND ONCE AGAINE.

Dantzigk: itts comparison with London.

The Citty of Dantzigk is in the Province of Pommerella, reckoned under the Crowne of Poland, reckoned allso in Prussia[1], And according to the computation Formerly made beetween Amsterdam and London[2], this place with suburbes may conteyn $\frac{1}{4}$ as many people as London with itts suburbs, and $\frac{1}{2}$ as many as Amsterdam[3]: For in a healthy tyme, voide off any contagion or Noted sicknesse, there dye in London about 200 persons[4]; att Amsterdam aboutt 100; and here about 50: somwhatt More or lesse. Itt lyeth in the latitude of $54\frac{1}{2}$ degrees [54° 21′] North: very hard winters (allthough

[1] Danzig, in the Province of Pomerellen, with the whole of West Prussia, was ceded to Poland in 1455. It was one of the four chief towns of the Hanseatic League.

[2] See *ante*, Rel. XXXII, p. 67 and note.

[3] The population of Danzig in the 17th century is variously given as 50,000, 80,000 and 200,000. See *A Particular Description of Dantzic*, 1734, p. 11; Jones, *History of Poland*, p. 42; Malte Brun, *Prusse Occidentale*, p. 23; *Gdansk and East Prussia*, 1919, p. 16. The wars with Sweden during part of the period probably account for the disparity in the figures, but Mr Malcolm Letts informs me that most of the estimates of population until comparatively modern times are quite unreliable. Danzig had in 1910 a population of 170,000; but in the 17th century it cannot have housed anything like that number. Lübeck, its rival, had about 20,436 in 1460–1461. Cologne at the end of the 16th century, some 37,000. See v. Below, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, II. (1904), p. 477. In his *Bruges and its Past*, p. 17, Mr Letts shows that the population there, estimated by chroniclers at 100,000 and 150,000, can never have exceeded 70,000.

[4] In the first letter of the East India Company to the East, the "Committees," *i.e.* Directors, after describing the Plague in 1603, write in December of that year: "yet now, God be thanked [merchants and others] doe resorte unto the citie again, the contagion being well seased, so as the nomber that now die of al diseases, in the cittie and suburbs are about 200 a weeke." Foster, *The East India House*, pp. 57–58.

the colder and harder accompted the better and wholesomer) and very hott som part off the summer.

Streets and houses.

Itt hath som Faire streets, as Langmarckt (or markett place), Lang-gast, Yopun-gast, Bredegast[1], etts. In these are many Faire loffty buildings off brick, outtwardly adorned with paintings [and] windowes, and Inwardly costly and curious in house furniture, pictures, etts. The seeling and Sides off their roomes Nettly painted in stor[i]es, etts[2]. Many ritche Merchantts, shoppekepers, etts. The yonger sort costly and proud in Apparell, ceremonious and complementall in behaviour. High Feeding (For here is plenty and variety), as att their weddings, For the Moderation wheroff, as allsoe their excesse in apparell, there are this yeare, 1642, certayne edictts and orders sett Forth in print by the Burgameister and councell off the Citty[3].

Religion.

For their Religion, here are Lutherans, Papists and Calvinists, the First beeing a Middle beetweene the other 2, For with the one they deny Purgatory, prayers for the dead, Masse, etts., And with the other they hold Altars, ceremonies, Imagery and pictures in their Churches, etts. Confession (and absolution) in generall termes in private, as with us in publicke. For transubstantiation they have Consubstantiation[4].

[1] Langer Markt, Lange Gasse, Jopen Gasse, Breite Gasse.

[2] The anonymous author of *A Particular Description of Dantzic*, publ. in 1734, remarks (p. 13) on the fronts of the houses "beautified with Plaister, Marble and Painting, and most with Images or Statues on the top." The ornamental gabled houses are still a distinctive feature of Danzig, though the outside stone staircases have been removed.

[3] Sumptuary laws were enacted in Danzig as early as 1352. The "certayne edictts" referred to by Mundy was the Ordinance of 1642 relating to wearing apparel and enumerating the various kinds of stuffs allowed, or forbidden, to be worn by various classes. Contraveners of the regulations were threatened with God's "wrath and vengeance," and were punished by fine and confiscation. See Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs*, 1. 92, 203, 407; [Danzig] *Neu revidirte Willkühr*, 6 Cap. Art. 1–4.

[4] See *ante*, p. 85 and notes, for Mundy's previous remarks on the Lutheran religion.

Pffarre kerke.

The Pffarrekirck or parish churche, called St. Maries, is very large and ritchly sett Forth[1], the tower therof nott much infferior in bignesse to thatt off St. Paules in London, nor much in heightt, wanting, as some say, 9 off these elles, att 22⅝ inches is aboutt 17 Footte[2]. Itt hath in itt many greatt bells, especially one called the Bedeclocke or prayer bell, off a round and perfitt sound, seldome Found in such off extra-ordinary biggnesse[3]. Itt is sometymes rung att Funeralls, butt ordinarily and dayly tolled certayne Number off strokes, att 7 in the Morning, 12 at Noone, and 5 att Night, when people say the Lords prayer or some other. A lofft in the said tower are certaine Men resident nightt and day, all the Year long, wheroff some blind poore Men which take their turnes to toll and ring the bells att certaine howres off the day and Night. Moreover, there is a watch all nightt to looke outt For Fire, etts., which From 10 clocke untill 4 every ½ hower play uppon a hautboies or pipe[4]. All Lutherane Churches in generall exceeding in Altars, pulpitts, Fontts and Organs as in this. Off the latter were 4 or 5 paire, one very large[5].

[1] The Marien or Pfarrkirche, begun in 1343 and finished in 1503, one of the finest churches on the Baltic.

[2] The author has a marginal note here: "The Tower 121 ells in height, is 222 feet little More, withoutt a spire, as St. Pauls." See *ante*, Vol. III, p. 16, note. The steeple of old St Pauls, London, was half stonework and half of wood, each 260 feet high. According to Mundy's reckoning in the text, the tower of St Mary's Church would be 260 ft., less 17 ft., or 243 ft. high. In reality it is 248 ft. high.

[3] The Betglocke, Angelus. Here Mundy has marginal notes on the size of the bell: "The bell, 130 Centenar, att 120 *ll.* per Cent., amounts [to] 15U600 *ll.*—7 Foote diameter. Thatt att Rouen by report 50 or 60U000 *ll.* and above 18 Foote diameter." Mundy's calculation, taking the centenary, centenaire (strictly speaking 100 lb.) at 120 lb., or a near equivalent to the English hundredweight, makes the weight of the bell nearly 7 tons. The Betglocke actually weighs 5 tons.

[4] The writer of the *Particular Description* noted above also speaks (p. 32) of the "continued watch kept on top" of the "square and clumsy" steeple "to give alarm of fire."

As late as the end of the 18th century a specified number of blind men, who acted as bell-ringers, had the exclusive right of begging at the door of the Pfarrkirche. See Feyerabend, *Kosmopolitische Wanderungen*, &c., 1795–97.

[5] See *infra*, p. 186, for a full description of "the great organs in the Pfarrekerke."

The Citty wall.

The Citty hath a compleatt wall, a Faire trench or ditch Full off water, allthough there are divers hilles adjoyning to itt[1] as you goe towards Scotland[2] and new garden [Neugarten] (very ill Neighbours, nott a bowe shott distance), From whence one May looke into the Citty. From one off them [? hills] by the shooting yard was the draught theroff taken as in the printt incerted here[3], allthough in my minde itt wantts Much off itt[s] breadth [and] Fullnesse as itt their [*sic*] appeares.

Zeugh-hause or munition house.

Att the upper end off Yopungast [Jopen Gasse] standeth a very Faire house off 4 rooffes called the Zeughause, or Munition house. Therin here is this above all worth Notice and Commendation, *viz.*, the lower Floore, which (I conceave) conteynes the whole breadth off the rooffes afforesaid, supported on stone pillars. On the said Floore stand above

[1] The writer of the *Particular Description* says (p. 8) that the walls at Danzig were "so large on the Inside that two Coaches can pass abreast" and that they were "beautified with rows of trees."

Bargrave, who was in Danzig in Dec. 1652, has a good description (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 77) of the city walls and defences: "The City Walls or Workes, which are very high, and vastly thick, the Sconces but at muskett distance confronted each to other so artificially that a mouse can hardly escape a good markes man. Underneath the workes goes a faire Arch, whereby they convey Supplies (on occasion) underground. Theyr Trenches are very deep and broad....The Workes are bordred round at the Bottom with a low Wall, and kept so Trimme and neat, that tis hard by theyr greenness to distinguish May from December.

"At the Gate towards Poland they have three draw bridges, which at the going downe of the sunn are dayly drawen up, the Gates shutt, and Watch Sett. The constant Guard consists of about 300 souldiers, who stand all with theyr Gunns presented, and theyr matches alight, to let the King of Poland know he shall have no advantage from theyr securitie. In fine, were it not for a scurvy hill, which overlooks them from Poland side, the City seemes all together impregnable."

[2] In the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries large numbers of Scotchmen settled in Danzig and at the time of Mundy's visit a "brotherhood" of Scots existed. Their district, on the N.W. of the city, is still known as Alt Schottland. See *Travel in* 1600, p. 131. Compare also Ed. Carstenn, *Was die Danziger Strassennamen erzählen*, 1922.

Compare Olearius (*c.* 1638), pp. 30–31: "On the other side of the Moslava [Mottlau] lies part of the Suburbs [of Danzig] called Schottland or Scotland, as much as a pretty little City."

[3] The print is missing.

120 good brasse peeces off Ordnance, bright burnished, ready Mounted on Faire strong carriages placed in rancks and Files, soe many a breast, the rest one beehind another, all Necessarie apertenances lying by them, as shott, wormes, spunges, etts.; a handsome sightt. Over the said roome were sundry halls with armour weapons For [blank] thousand men. In Fine, all very orderly and compleatt, allthough itt wante off greattnesse, as at Venice[1] [or] London.

There were allsoe some pretty curiosities to bee observed, as a paire off winding stone staires, which, all though itt consisted off many turnings, yett one Mightt See another From the toppe to the bottom through the Axis or center where the stepps joine inward. Allsoe the Images of a couple off souldiers in Full proportion, well made and in good postures, the one with his gun presenting, the other with a drawne sword and buckler, which by turning off some pynne or screw, the one gives Fire with a good report, and the other shakes his weapon, their eies turning in their heads with Fierce countenances[2]. Allsoe an excellent Instrument

[1] Mundy has a long description of the Arsenal at Venice in Vol. I, pp. 93–97.

[2] Bargrave's interesting description of the Zeughaus at Danzig (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fols. 77–78) is worth quoting in full: "The Amunition House, of it self a noble building, consisting of three Stories, in the lowermost whereof are 130 great brass Gunnes of severall Sizes, all ready mounted, and fitted with all Appertinents; besides many morter pieces of severall largeness and diverse other artificiall Gunns, as well admirable for theyr Curiositie as theyr use; as also a handsome Store of Armour and bulletts. In another roome below are vast nombers of Canon bulletts, Granadoes, diverse sorts of Fireworkes, and Chaine bulletts of all sorts and Sizes; every heap of Bulletts distinguished as apperteining unto such a Gunn, having on the top of the Pile the same marke or nomber with that Gunn for which they were made; as also all Compositions for Fireworks, prepared in readyness and neatly made up, on all occasions.

"In an upper roome of the third Story are Pikes, musketts, Rests, swords, holberts, Pole-axes, all instruments for digging and undermining, and almost all weapons imaginably needfull in warr, pild up in wonderfull Quantities in 4 divisions, between either of which three men may walke abrest without any inconvenience.

"In the middle Story, divided into two parts, are other Pikes [and] Musketts as in the upper Story, but farr exceeding them in goodness; likewise a world of Armour, Cap ape [cap-à-pie], all Muskett proofe; 4 stately Statues of men on horseback, in each corner One, richly armed, and seeming to tilt at each other. All the Armes are so curiously kept

to take the height and levell off ground, etts., and a water spoutt For quenching off Fire: all very artifficiall and Nett [cleverly made and elegant].

Execution of Justice.

Justice is here executed sundry Manner of waies, according to their offences, as whipping with roddes[1], burning on the shoulder, hanguing, soe lefft as long as a peece will hang together, Cutting off of heads, breaking with a wheele, smoaking to death, etts., riding the Asse (a wooden Figure), strapado[2].

and so orderly pil'd, as I beleeve will be an unimitated Copy of all I shall see of the like Nature.

"I was enformed there be in all enough for a hundred thousand men, besides twenty thousand lent the King of Poland in his warr with the Cosacks. And such is the exact Curiositie of theyr Order that were the Men as ready as the Armes, they may in one howres time be Perfectly accoutred.

"But I must not forgett two Statues of men habited alla Todesca [in the German fashion], in a large proportion, who stand like porters, one at the entrance, the other at the Exit of the Gallerie; Theyr faces painted of a grimm Countenance, having ruff beards, turning theyr heads and Eyes by watch-work very nimbly. The first is armd with Sword and buckler, striking his Sword oftentimes against the Iron Grates, within which he stands; the second with a muskett which he shott off to our Adieu."

The writer of the *Particular Description* has remarks on the Arsenal (pp. 20–23), and he also mentions the "Effigy of a tall man bigger than life, rowling both his Eyes in a fury and dreadful manner"; the clock-work figures which "they screw up" and the gun which "discharges itself."

For an excellent detailed account of the Zeughaus, see Feyerabend, *op. cit.*, Bd. I. pp. 163–169.

[1] For the manner of whipping of criminals, see *A Particular Description*, pp. 18–19.

[2] According to the *Particular Description* (pp. 29–30), the usual punishments were "Beheading, breaking on the Wheel and Hanging," the former "most frequent." Smoking to death was a punishment for incendiaries. Compare *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), Poland, p. 88: "They that sett houses on fyre are fastned to a Gibbett and smoked to death."

Riding the "Asse" was a similar punishment to riding the Wooden Horse, for which see Relation XXXIV, p. 162 and note, as also for the military punishment of the Strappado. Mr Letts has drawn my attention to K. von Amira, *Die germanischen Todesstrafen*, Munich, 1922, where smoking to death is dealt with at p. 163 and breaking on the wheel at pp. 106–115. The Danzig Ass stood in the Market Place adjoining the Pillory, Ed. Carstenn, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Beheading.

A liefftteneantt was condemned to loose his head For killing off a Man. Hee came to the place which was beeffore the high gate or doore, beeing on the playne ground, where hee cheerefully Tooke leave of his Freinds by shaking them by the hands, bound uppe his owne haire, stript off his dublett, held uppe his hands, recommended his soule to God, kneeled downe on a heape off Sande, stretched Forth his Neck to receave the stroke with undaunted courage, when his head was hadd off att one blow. The body Fell Forward and the bloud gushed outt in such abundance and hast (which the sand drunck uppe) as outt off a pott Full off water broken with a stone, etts. All this sodainely perfformed: a generous kind of death For an offender both in the sufferance and execution.

Breaking with a wheele.

Then have they breaking with a wheele, of which I saw 2 executed For divers Murthers, robberies, etts., among the rest For robbing of a Maide, abusing her body and murthering her afterwards. These, as other offenders condemned to dye, 3 daies beffore they suffer, are putt apart in a severall [separate] roome in the prison called the trawerstove [Ger. *Trauerstube*] or sorrowfull lodging, where they have whatt diett they require. The 2 afforementioned, a little withoutt the Citty by a small house called Jerusalem, had drincke given them[1]. When they came to the place off execution, they were laid Flatt on their bellies on the earth, a sharpe edged peece of wood laid under their throates. The racker kneghtts, or hangmans servauntts[2], tying cords to their hands and Feete, stretch all outt att length, and soe hold on to

[1] The author of the *Particular Description* also remarks (pp. 29–30) that condemned criminals were allowed "what food and drink they desire" and that it was given them at a "little Booth on purpose near the gallows." This must be Mundy's "Jerusalem," but I can find no other mention of it by that name. It may have been near a place such as that described by Moryson (I. 8) outside Lübeck: "Hierusalem (as they call the Passion of Christ graven in divers pillars)." Or it may have been the property of a member of the Danzig family of Von Jerusalem.

[2] Ger. *Rächer-Knecht*, avenger's servant, hangman's servant.

keepe them From strugling. Then comes the sharpe Righter or hangman himselffe[1] with a wodden wheele aboutt the bignesse off a Fore coachewheele, wherewith hee strikes with all his mightt on their necks 3 or 4 tymes, soe thatt the bloud gushed outt off their Mouthes, Noses and eares. Itt is to bee conceaved thatt the First blow breakes their Necks in two. Then have they another instrumentt consisting of 2 such sharpe peeces of wood ½ a Foote asunder, whereon they lay their armes and legges one after another, and smiting with the said wheele, they breake them in two so thatt the bones stick through the Flesh; and lastly they smite them on the brest. Then the broken Mangled body is sett or laid on another wheele which is Fastned on a long post and the post sett uprightt in the ground, where they are lett remaine as long as a peece remaines off them.

Smoaking to death.

Sometymes they use smoaking to death by tying them to a post, where with smoak they are stiffled to death[2].

Treating of execution, I will insert a short story.

A strange story.

There is a Yong Man Now living here who came to our lodging to teach on the virginalls, well knowen through the Citty, as is the relation, Named Christopher Busse, borne in Franckffurt on Mayne, And att Praagh [Prague] in Bohemia was condemned to loose his head For Murther. The 6th off August 1632, att 9 off the Clocke in the Morning, beeing att the place off execution on his knees ready to receave the deadly stroke, One Hans Tetelhofftt (thatt hath a sister Married in this place) sodainely cryed outt, "the Man is Innocent," and thatt hee himselff had killed the Man; and the very same day att 12 clocke was executed in the same place, his processe and Sentence there perfformed and delivered. And 2 Falce wittnesses had their 2 Fingers cutt off and banished, For the Manner off bearing wittnesse is by

[1] Ger. *Scharfrichter*, severe judge, executioner, hangman.
[2] See above, note 2 on p. 172.

swearing and holding uppe 2 Fingers, *viz.*, the Foreffinger and the middle, used allsoe in these parts[1]. The said Murther was committed att a wedding in Pragh afforesaid, where the said Christopher was one off the Musick [band], who Falling a sleepe on a bench had the bloudy kniffe conveyed into his pockett wherewith the other killed the Man; uppon which and wittnesses hee was adjudged: however, wonderfully saved, as aforementioned. This is generally held For a truth, More thatt then through Feare hee lost the right use off his speach; wheras Formerly hee spake plaine, hee now stutters and stammers exceedingly[2].

The sharpe Righter whatt hee is.

I have said soe much off executions beecause som off them vary From those used with us. Allsoe Now a word or two off the Executioner, beecause hee differs Much From those of the same kind in other Countries. Hee is titled scharpe-richter, Henecher bedlerauker[3], etts. Sharpe Righter is as Much to say as the sharp Judge, of the very sword or edge of Justice, For as the Righter or Judge gives the sentence, soe doth the sharpe Righter putt the same in effect. This [one] att presentt handsome off person, well apparelled, in winter [with] a Sable Cappe, Cloake with plush, sword by his side, all elce suteable—a gentile [genteel, gentlemanly] kind off a Fellow. His beehaviour itt seemes agreeable, For sometymes hee keepes company with Burgers etts. [and other] Men of quallitie in the best tavernes etts. elcewhere: sometimes on the hoffe [*Hof*] or exchange, keeps Coache [blank] and horses [and] others For the Saddle[4].

[1] Cf. *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 268: "The Germans...when they take an oath before the Magistrate, they lay not the hand uppon the Bible, as we doe, but...lift up two fingers to heaven." See also *ibid.* p. 339.

[2] No mention of this incident nor of Christopher Busse has been found.

[3] *Scharfrichter* and *Henker* are both German terms for hangman, the latter also having the sense of torturer. The actual meaning of *Bedrücker* is oppressor.

[4] See Keller, *Der Scharfrichter in der deutschen Kulturgeschichte*, Bonn, 1921, pp. 120, 121, for a description of the costume of the hangman.

No personal reference to this executioner, called, *infra*, Herr Gregory, has been traced.

The Hangmans priviledges.

Hee hath good Meanes, house well Furnished: among the rest some Instrumentts aperteyning to his office, as severall burnished swords. For men of severall quallities, as Burgameisters, Rahttsherren (Councellors or Aldermen), Burgers[1] (Cittizens), etts., each have their owne reserved For them when they deserve itt. The gallowes off a strange Fashion, beeing 4 square, hath 8 tymbers thwart For use, the supporters off bricke, ladders with double stepps, one For the delinquentt, the other For the executioner. His Meanes accrewes to him partly soe much a head For those thatt suffer; Allsoe by surgery or setting off joints or bones outt of joint, butt I thincke hee Marres More thatt waie then hee Mends[2]. Againe, a man may Not here kill his owne dogge withoutt penalty, which one of his [the hangman's] servauntts doth and is paid For itt, beesides the skynne, etts. Butt the cheiffest comming in [income] off his office is by emptying outt houses off office, to which himselff laies Nott his hand, only setts his Servauntts or Rackerknights to doe itt. These Rackerknightts have bin condemned Men, For when the said hangman wantts a Man, hee hath the priviledge to save one or other off those thatt are condemned to bee executed which hee conceaves Fitt For his turne, who are to serve him in his office, their lives beeing given to him. Hee allsoe [has] power to take itt away From them att his pleasure, Soe thatt if they committ any offence, withoutt any Farther processe, hee can take their heads From their shoulders Freely, beeing as I said condemned allready[3].

[1] Ger. *Bürgermeister*, *Rathsherren*, *Bürger*.

[2] Mr Letts informs me, as regards surgery and the setting of joints, that the executioner was supposed from his acquaintance with the rack to have an intimate knowledge of anatomy. Sick people resorted to him, and his ability to set a leg was at times a test of his fitness for the part of hangman. See Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–5.

[3] The status of the Scharfrichter or Executioner and that of the town Pharmacist (Apotheker) seems to have been of nearly equal importance, for both paid the same sum, 100 Ducats, on appointment (Löschin, *op. cit.*, II. 162). In 1641 the executioner appears to have acted also as a bone-setter, but he was forbidden to attempt other cures (*ibid.* I. 362). He was also, as Mundy states, responsible for the carrying out of the sanitary regulations, the removal of sewage, the cleansing of houses and

No. 10. Execution of Justice at Dantzigk.

[Mundy's description of Illustration No. 10.]

A. Herr Gregory, the hangman of Dantzigke, with his servantts attending on him, well apparelled and armed with guns and swords: himselffe on a good horse, worth att the least 20 *li.* sterl'ng in my opinion, with his sword by his side, [a] paire off long pistolls or horsemans peeces at his saddle and otherwise well accoutred, beeing then on a speciall occasion, as the hanging of a man on Stolzenberg, withoutt the liberties off the Citty[1], where, when hee had don, hee made a short Oration From the gallowes to this effect, Thatt if any man there did committ the like offence, etts., if hee came into his hands, hee would serve him in the same kind.
B. The gallowes.
C. Men Formerly executed lying on wheeles.
D. As they break their Necks first with a wheele.
E. How they break their armes and leggs.
F. The sharpe peece of wood wheron his Neck is broken.
G. The other peece of wood with 2 edges for his armes and legges: All farther discribed on the other side[2].

More Mightt bee said, butt soe much (I conceave) is enough of soe sadde a subject. I will endeavour therfore to divert such thoughtts another way and treatt off recreation, somwhatt opposite to itt, such as are used here.

Recreations in Dantzigk.

In Winter they use to ride in smalle sleads drawn with one horse, called Yagh-sleads, som say From *der Jagh*, hunting, so called, butt it may rather bee From Yagh, a swifft Sayling boat, there beeing a resemblance beetweene

of the streets; the removal of all dead carcases, and the slaughter of stray dogs at stated times. For the By-laws regulating these duties and the payments due to the Scharfrichter and his servants see *Anhang... betreffend einige Verrichtungen des Scharfrichters* in *Neu revidirte Willkühr der Stadt Danzig*, pp. 251–254.

[1] Stolzenburg, a village on a hill about 2 miles S.W. of Danzig, and apparently the place where executions were carried out in Mundy's time. In 1734 it was the resort of women of ill fame. See *Particular Description*, p. 3.

[2] See Plate IX, illustration No. 10.

the swifft gliding off the one through the water and the others speedy sliding over the Ice and Snow[1]. In these sleads commonly sitt 2 person[s], a Man and a Woman, a yong Man and a Maid, etts., the Man guiding, soe Ferry away 3 or 4 Miles More or lesse over Ice and Snow[2], either by land to Heilighbrun or holy well, or to Der Oliffe, Suppott[3], etts., or elce by water on the Ice on the Muttlow [Mottlau], Wessell [Weichsel], etts., to places here aboutts. They goe with great Speede, each striving to outgoe the other and to gett For himselffe the swifftest paced Nagg.

In sumner [*sic*] they ride a horsebacke or in coaches to the places afforesaid. Att Heilighbourne is a pretty pleasantt walk beetweene the hills, woods and groves off trees on each hand, allwaies greene Winter and Summer, beeing Most part Fyrre trees.

They use allsoe shooting exercise with Crosbowes att a Fowle of wood sett uppe on a very high pole; allsoe with gunnes att Marckes, there beeing a place For thatt purpose with certaine orders and Fellowshippe, somwhat resembling the Manner off our Military garden in England[4]. Here is

[1] Mundy is right in his etymology. The English term "yacht," a swift sailing vessel, the Dutch *jagt* and the Ger. *Jagd*, a chase or hunt, have the same derivation.

[2] Cf. Bargrave's description (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 77): "To Hyleghebrand In snowy wether the Gallants repaire with theyr Ladies in theyr light Sledds; which runn on two narrow Slices of wood shod with Steele, and drawen by a single horse: the Gallant is his own Sledman; and theyr Custome is, In theyr returne home, at theyr Approch to the City Gates, they runn races with theyr Sleds; whiles most of the remaining Sparkes of the Toune, attend at the gates to see theyr coming in." See also *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 352.

[3] Heiligenbrunn, about 1½ miles N. of Danzig; Oliva, on the road to Zoppot, 8 miles N.W. of Danzig; Zoppot, on Danzig Bay, about 12 miles from the city.

In 1634 the writer of the *Particular Description* (p. 44) describes "the Olive, planted with Willows," as "a Terrestrial Paradise," and Bargrave (*op. cit.* fol. 80) speaks of "Sapporth" (Zoppot) as "a large Crewe [inn]."

[4] In the *Particular Description* (pp. 43–44) the "Burghers Schiefs Garten" (*Schützenhaus*) is described "where the young Men exercise themselves almost every day, and become thereby very dextrous at an Aim. The Yard is a very large one, And the Marks about 500 Paces long. Three Companies can shoot at a Time, without interfering with one another. The Pieces they make use of are rifling Pieces, whose

allsoe Fencing with several sorts off weapons to bee seene For Mony, allsoe baiting and Fighting off beasts, as bull, beare and dogges enterchanged, sometimes horse and bear, wolffe and bull: butt above all the bear Finds little Favour, butt is toused and baited to the purpose as long as hee can goe or stand, allthough they observe not soe much law and orders in this sport as in England. Hee is afterward somtyme reserved, sometyme killed, the old Fashion beeing to bait them to death or kill them, this Country affording supplie. The first thatt I saw was bayted to death[1].

The Yunkerhoffe: itts Use.

Moreover Feasting and Drincking att the Yuncker Hoffe [Junkerhof]. It is a large spacious loffty roome, well adorned with antientt paintings, Imagery, rarites, serving For publicke use and meetings[2], as one off their courts off Justice att

Barrels are screwed and bored, and will carry a Ball a vast way with great Force and Execution. The Locks of them are very curious Workmanship, and with the lightest Touch of the Tricker, discharges....Their Marks are large globular Paintings of a Hercules a Ship or anything they have a Mind to fancy." The reference here to "rifling Pieces" is of interest, for in the *O.E.D.* there is only one quotation before the 18th century in this sense, and then (1635) as a verb: "a Patent to rifle, cutt out screwe barrells, &c." There is no example of the actual term, rifle-barrel, before 1797, though there are quotations in 1751 and 1769 showing how "the rifle of the barrel impedes the ball," &c.

By the "Military garden in England" Mundy seems to mean the training ground of the Honourable Artillery Company. See Relation xxxi, p. 48.

[1] For the Bear-garden at Danzig, see *Particular Description*, p. 20.

[2] The Artushof (King Arthur's Court) or Junkerhof (Merchants' Court) at Danzig still exists and is used as an exchange. It was founded in 1370 and was originally the meeting place of citizens of all classes for deliberations and conviviality, but the privileged position granted to merchants in the Hanse towns led to the exclusion of all others. The place received the name of Junkerhof from the distinguishing title of "Junker" adopted by Danzig merchants. Mr Letts informs me that the Danzig burghers generally had a vast idea of their own importance, and all merchants and even tradesmen were honoured by the title of "Junker." See Ed. Carstenn, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–7.

The present building dates from *c.* 1480 and the lower part of the façade was added in 1552. The Hall has a fine vaulting borne on slender granite pillars. Among the paintings and "Imagery," noticed by Mundy, are medallion heads of Charles V and Don John of Austria, a picture of Christ in the form of a ship sailing to heaven, the Last Judgment by A. Müller (1601), &c. Müller's picture seems to be the one mentioned by the writer of the *Particular Description* in his remarks on the "Juncker

one end some daies in the Weeke[1]; allsoe in Fowle weather For the exchange, which lies in long Marckt [Lange Markt] allmost beeffore itt, and For Feasting and Drincking as afforesaid openly don, there beeing benches round aboutt, where sitt sundry companies off all degrees, which have drinck For their Mony, *viz.*, Dantzker beer, broughte them by the attendantts or officers off the house.

Moreover, in the said house are certaine o[r]ders having a Free Brotherhood or company, of the principall off the Citty, wherof some English and Scotts, their names recorded in a booke, admitting through Freindshippe whome they thinke good[2]. These att some daies in the yeare hold Frolicke Feasts, commonly att Nightt, where is lusty Chear, good wyne and beere, musicke of various sorts, as Organs etts. [and other] wind Instrumentts, violls and voices; solemne and ceremonious healthes round: all with Civill Mirth. The order and attendance more then Burgameisterlike, the Servitours with garlands on their heads, silver ornamentts overthwartt their shoulders beltwise, as the drummers in Holland and these parts use. Allsoe abundance off plate, as boules, bekers, cuppes, etts., silver and giltt, wherof Many thatt will conteyne aboutt 4 or 5 English quartts, all aperteyming [*sic*] to the house and Fellowshippe, the roome beeing enlightned with a greatt Number of Wax torches [and] Candles disposed throughoutt thatt large roome. This or these Feasts mightt well beecom the entertayne off an Embassador or a Prince For order, state and plenty. Itt is perfformed to the open

Hoff" (pp. 24–25) as a painting "delineating heaven and hell with the world in the middle." The writer further states that the building was open all day, that it had "Stalls in it for all sorts of Toys, Models, carved work, Ivory," and a "Gallery for Musick where is a weekly Consort."

[1] "In the South East corner [of the Junkerhof] a Court where the Town Magistrates hear Civil Causes" (*Particular Description*, p. 25).

[2] On the rebuilding of the Artushof *c.* 1480, after its destruction by fire in 1476, the organisation received several modifications and the assembly was divided into six separate corporations, according to nation and wealth. See Löschin, *op. cit.*, I. 85–87, 143–144. It is probably to these corporations that Mundy refers, though possibly in alluding to the "Free Brotherhood" he had in mind the Brotherhood of Scots (see *ante*, note 2 on p. 170) which existed until 1697.

view of all commers who may allsoe have beere ums geltt[1], drincking all daies of the weeke, except Sondaies from 3 afternoon till 10, 11, ett[s]. att Night.

Thus cold countries Invite Men to devise Meanes to come together to cherish and warme themselves, there wanting not other occasiones, as in England the swearing att Bazingstone by Bagshotte For the reffreshing off travellers thatt come From the uttmost partts of the Realme towards London[2]. Butt these much differ From each other.

In the said Younker Hoffe is a Cackleoven entire, allthough outt off use, aboutt 35 Foote high, the largest and highest I conceave in these countries[3]. Such Yuncker hoffes, att [*sic* ? or] leastwise houses with drincking orders, Brotherhoods, etts. are in Most Citties hereawaies, as Koninxberg [Königsberg], etts., butt none comparable to this For many respectts. Soe much For the Dantziker Yonkerhoffe or thatt house of good Fellowshippe.

English plaiers or commediens.

Some Summers come here our English commedlens [*sic*]

[1] *Ums Gelt*, for money, on payment of dues. The entrance fee was two Polish Groschen from three till nine, including Danzig beer and music. The fee on admittance to the Brotherhood was one Thaler. See Zeiler, *Itiner. Contin.*, pp. 308–309.

[2] I am indebted to Mr H. E. Malden, F.S.A. for the following interesting note on Mundy's "Bazingstone": "Basingstone was about a mile S.W. of Bagshot by the main road which goes on to Basingstoke and the S.W. of England. Speed's map, early 17th century, marks it as a house or village. Adam's *Index Villaris*, 1680, gives it as a hamlet with no gentleman's house in it. The map by Senex 'from an actual survey,' 1719, seems to mark the stone, but the impression is so much worn that it is not very clear. Close to it, across the road, was a well known inn called the Golden Farmer, an ill-omened name for travellers, for the original Golden Farmer was a highwayman, who practised on Bagshot Heath and combined an ostensible trade as farmer with a more profitable secret vocation. I do not know if the stone is there still. Big blocks of hard sandstone are not uncommon in the county, but they have sometimes been broken up for road mending and one lying near a main road would have been peculiarly in danger of this end. Bagshot was full of inns, and I can only conjecture that there was some famous travellers' ordinary held here, with perhaps special ceremonies of drinking to keep up the courage of those braving the notorious dangers of Bagshot Heath."

[3] See *ante*, pp. 110, 144, for previous allusions to *Kachelöfen* or tiled stoves. But the great stove in the Junkerhof was of iron. See *Particular Description*, p. 25.

or players which representte [perform] in Netherlandishe Dutche [Low German], having bin att Coninxberg beffore the prince Elector of Brandenburge; Allsoe att Warsowe beffore the king of Poland. Among those Actors was one here Nicknamed pickled herring, much talked off and admired For his dexterity in the Jesters partt, Amo. Itt is said off him thatt hee could soe Frame his Face and countenance thatt to one halffe off the people on the one side hee would seeme heartily to laugh and to those on the other side bitterly to weepe and shedd teares—straunge. Hee died att Warsow. His wiffe now liveth here in towne [and] hath allowance From the king For her Maynetenance[1].

Trafficke and commodities.

The Mayne trade or trafficke here is For graine, as wheatt, barly, Rye (off the last Most), and divers other broughtt downe the River Wissell [Weichsel] in greatt Flatt-bottomed lighters called Canes[2], off which sometymes 1500 or 2000 att once ly Neare the Citty and May have, one with the other, aboutt 15 men each. By report above 160000 tonnes off Corne is shipped From hence every Summer[3]. The poore

[1] The term Pickelhäring, introduced into Anglo-German and German farce as a name for the fool or clown, and subsequently extended to a whole class of comical interludes (called Pickelhärings-Spiel or Hanswurst-Spiel), was probably invented by Robert Reynolds, who visited Danzig in 1616 with a company of English comedians. It was perhaps suggested by the nickname Stockfish, taken by an earlier Anglo-German actor, John Spencer. English players were at Danzig in 1636 and also at Königsberg. In 1640 the Margrave of Brandenburg granted a licence under his own hand to Reynolds and others, and it is probably to this visit that Mundy refers.

There is no record of the plays performed by the English comedians at Danzig, nor of the actor who took the part of "Amo," by which Cupid is apparently meant. See Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, I. 208, n. 1; Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, 1558–1642; Bolte, *Danziges Theater*; Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel*, etc.; Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*.

[2] See *ante*, p. 96.

[3] The *Particular Description* (1734), p. 10, gives the amount of the annual export of grain from Danzig as 30,000 to 40,000 German lasts, *i.e.* roughly 60,000 to 80,000 tons, and says that the reports of the volume of trade were greatly exaggerated, probably referring to Olearius who states (p. 31) that 730,000 tons were sold yearly. Boswell, *History of Poland*, says that in 1617 the trade in grain amounted to 289,000 tons.

people thatt come downe with itt are in habitt and live in condition No better then slaves; the like with the labourers and countrie people. Soe greatt a difference make they in Poland betweene the gentry and common Sort, the one lording and tiranizing over the other, their very lives lying in their hands, soe thatt if they kill one off them, they pay butt a Matter of ½ a crowne to the king For his Subjectt, and are Freed[1]. Such kind off oppression is used in most parts off the world, allthough diversly. Where is it nott thatt many poore Men must labour, sweatt, endure, Fare hard, etts., to maynetaine the pride and luxurious living off a Few others. Butt to our purpose.

Here is the staple [market] For Corne[2], as Coninxberg For wood-comodity, as wainescott, Clapboard[3], etts. Greatt store of other comodities is allsoe broughtt downe From Poland, as pottashes, Flax, hempe, etts[4].

English staple.

The English staple is allsoe here kept: a greatt company off Merchantts, Factors, etts., Many Married, living and abiding here[5], having a preacher, a Church or place to repaire unto to heare Gods word: our common prayer omitted, only

So it looks as if we have a story of declining trade here. Thus: 1617, 289,000 tons; 1642 (Mundy), 160,000 tons; 1734, 60,000 to 80,000 tons. See also *infra* in this relation, where Mundy gives the trade of Danzig in corn as "near 200,000 tons."

[1] Mundy has scored through "½ a crowne" in his MS. Until 1347 a lord could put a peasant to death with impunity. After that date the fine (prescribed by Casimir) for killing a peasant was 10 marks, of which 7 went to the widow and children. This scale was in force until 1768. See Moltke, *Darstellung der innern Verhältnisse...in Polen*, pp. 85–86; Coxe, *Poland*, I. 192; Jones, *Poland*, p. 53; *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), pp. 77, 90.

[2] Bargrave (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 77) remarked on "the Magazenes for Corne which are stately buildings of stone, very secure from Fire, Capacious for very great Store, and on the Wesil side convenient for shipping."

[3] See *ante*, note 2 on p. 91.

[4] The chief articles of export from Danzig enumerated in the *Particular Description*, p. 10, are corn, linen, potash and plank.

[5] See *ante*, note 4 on p. 89. The old hall of the English merchants of the staple, with its tower, is still standing. The writer of the *Particular Description* states (p. 40) that there was formerly "a large Country House nigh the Olive [Oliva] with a spacious fine Garden" belonging to the English, but that it was abandoned in 1734.

some psalmes of David read, with a Chapter outt off the old or New Testament, a psalme or 2 sung, with a Sermon[1].

Fountaine before the Yuncker Hoffe.
The Clocke tower.

Beefore the Yunker Hoffe is a very Faire large artificiall Fountayne, The under part or cisterne off a Firme blacke stone; the upper partt is a Neptune off an excellentt proportion, striding a Seahorses [*sic*], etts. [and other] inventions, cast in Mettall which spouteth water through Sundry ingenious passages. It is the best thatt I doe remember to have seene[2], as is the Clocktower adjoyming [*sic*], which hath very good Chimes which play beefore the Full hower strike, there beeing another bell thatt strikes the halffe, as att ½ hower past 10 itt strikes 11, which is termed ½ eleven, nott as wee say ½ hower past 10. The ½ and whole hower have severall tunes[3].

The greatt Mill.

Here is allsoe a very greatt Mill, a large house off one roome, conteyming [*sic*] in itt 18 grinding Milles, 9 off each side, open to view. Itt yeilds by report nott lesse then 1 Hungarish duckett or 2 Reicks dollers every hour throughoutt the yeare, is Hungarish duckett 8760, which amountts to little lesse than 4000 *li.* sterling per annum: a good revenew For a Mill and a good office to bee Master Miller[4]. Itt hath

[1] Religious toleration was observed in Danzig at this period, the Lutheran form of religion being most prevalent. According to the *Particular Description* (p. 39), there were 20 public churches of all religions at Danzig in 1734.

[2] The fountain before the Junkerhof still exists.

[3] Mundy has a marginal note here: "The clocke tower a very faire loffty structure allso. The greatt Iron wheele thatt causeth the Chimes a costly and artificiall peece as is the rest apperteyning: the Tunes allmost every 15 or 20 daies are altred."

Mundy is here alluding to the slender tower (146 ft. with spire) of the still existing Rathhaus situated in the Lange Gasse near the Langer Markt, which contains a set of chimes of great repute.

[4] This calculation makes the Hungarian ducat = 9*s.* 1½*d.*, and the Reichsthaler (rix-dollar) = 4*s.* 6¾*d.* But see note 1 on next page. *Ante*, p. 80. Mundy makes the rix-dollar about 4*s.* The Kremnitz gold ducat of Hungary was worth 9*s.* 5*d.* in 1835. Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, 1. 192. See also Moryson, 11. 122 ff.

certaine burgers and officers For the overseeing off itt, the benefitt theroff accrewing to the Cities stocke[1].

House of Correction.

Hier [*sic*] is likewise a Zeuchthause or house off correction[2], where Misgoverned people of both sexes are sett in and putt to worcke, as spinning, weaving, etts. Among the rest an honest [of respectable position] Burger sentt thither by his wives complaint, by whome hee had a Child every yeare; butt itt seemes nott sett in For thatt, butt rather for mispending his tyme and meanes in Idle company, drincke, etts., which hee should imploy to the Maynetenance off his said wiffe and Children.

They have here in their waggons, Cartts, etts. For common Service, as carrying off goods, wood, dung, earth, etts., very Fatt, Faire, handsom horses, nott such elce where to bee seene sett to such drugery[3]; butt itt seemes they beelong to perticular [certain] burgers.

Singers.

Moreover, in these parts one Custom nott every where used, thatt is, the Singuing off poore schollers, blind people, etts., upp and downe the streetes For almes. I have seene and heard 3 or 4 poore blind Fellowes, with one to lead them, thatt have sung soe harmoniously according to tableture[4], each keeping his due part, thatt itt hath caused much delightt

[1] The corn ground at this particular mill was a Government monopoly, as the following statement from a *Particular Description*, p. 5, shows: "Several Mills...one of which for Corn may vie with any in Europe, having 18 stones going at a time, and each brings the King of Poland every hour throughout the year a golden Ducat...being in value 8 Polish Guilders or Ten shillings."

[2] The Zuchthaus, built in 1630 for the housing of vagabonds and surrounded by a wall in 1643, stood just opposite the old Castle or Burg and West of it, on or by the present Zuchthausplatz, in the old part of the town. In 1823 the building was turned into an Industrial School. Löschin, *op. cit.*, I. 359, II. 486; Brockhaus, *Konvers.-Lex.*, *s.v.* Danzig; Duisburg, *Dantzig*, p. 30.

[3] Bargrave also remarked (*op. cit.* fol. 76) on the excellence of the horses of Danzig: "The horses are stately, Prowde and very tall, of a high Courage and great strength, much surpassing the best Flanders horses I have any where seen."

[4] An obsolete term for musical notation in general.

to the hearers: questionlesse instructed and taughtt therby to gett some living: this is usuall [blank][1] The Instrumentt with a blowne bladder Forgett not [*sic*][2].

The great Organs in the Pfarrekerke.

I Forgott the organs in the Pharre Churche [Parish Church], which in my opinion deserve Notice. Itt hath by reportt of Paulus Eevers, the cheiffe Organist, 3256 pipes off severall sorts and sizes, the biggest off them 2 Foott diameter or 6 Footte aboutt, as I allsoe Measured, Soe deepe as allmost past all distincct [*sic*] Sound if played alone, allthough with the rest itt hath an agreeable Consonance: Many other Near as bigge, lessning by degrees. Itt hath 4 Setts off keies to play on, *viz*. 3 For the hands and 1 For the Feete, All used and played on att one Instantt by the said Organist, who is said to bee the best in these partts For thatt Faculty[3]. Itt hath 54 registers or [blank] to multiply, diminish or alter sounds, 24 great billowes [bellows] blowen by 4 Men with their Feet, to each 6, treading on certaine long barres or tymbers which with a device cause the said billowes to blowe. This they doe with greatt ease, walking Forward and backward, treading and stepping on the said barres. The waightt off their bodies Forces them downe, which rise in the Meane [while] till they returne, which is don withoutt intermission. In conclusion, a very large, loffty, costly and artificial Instrument off Musicke[4].

[1] There was an old German custom for supplying poor boys with a means of livelihood by making them sing carols in the street. They were called *Kurrende Jungen*. Martin Luther was one. Compare *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 301: "The poore schollers upon hollydayes goe singing about the streets."

[2] This seems to mean, "I must not forget the bagpipes." See *infra*, note on the great organ in the Pfarrkirche.

[3] Paul Siefert (Syfertus, Sivert), a celebrated organist, was born in Danzig in 1586 and died there at the age of 80. He became organist of the Marienkirche in 1623 and performed on the organ during the marriage celebrations in 1646, in honour of Maria Ludovica Gonzaga, second wife of Vladislaus IV, described by Mundy later on. See Martini, *Kürtze Beschreibung*, etc. For biographical details, see Eitner, *Quellen-Lexicon*, Bd. 9, *s.v.* Siefert; Fétis, *Biog. Univ. de Musiciens*, Tome 8, *s.v.* Syfert.

[4] The great organ of the Marienkirche (Pfarrkirche) was built in 1580–86, and the accounts of its construction are amongst the City Records. See Löschin, *Geschichte Danzigs*, 1. 291–2; Duisburg, *Dantzig*, p. 122.

Strange Swallowes.

A certaine sort of swallowes here in winter tyme gett under the water, where they are shutt in by the Frost and remayne there till spring. They are Found in lakes upp in the country, especially among long reedes thatt grow therin, in greatt Clusters, many hundreds together, clinging one uppon another like a Swarme off bees. When they settle on som tree, bush, etts., they seeme withoutt liffe. Beeing broughtt into a warme stove [M.Du. *stove*, Ger. *Stube*, room], they revive and Fly aboutt, but live nott long [blank] or thatt heeat beeing unnaturall For them. This is generally approoved as a thing comnon [*sic*] and off no wonder, having spoken with those Fishermen thatt have bin att the taking off them uppe with their Netts. I have heard some say thatt by Carlile, on the sea shore, swallowes bury themselves in the sand in winter, and in Sumner [*sic*] com Forth againe[1].

Fish.

Here is a Fish called Spittsgarres, somwhatt like a lamprey, smaller and wanting holes aboutt his head. These will live a yeare or two or More in a bottle off water and will grow bigger therin, beeing Fedd: after the Nature off those in China[2].

Bargrave (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 76), mentions "fower Organs in the body of the Church, one whereof is the largest I have ever seen." The writer of the *Particular Description* remarks (p. 37): "There are three Organs in this Church: The largest placed at the West End; the Second joined to it in the North Isle; and the Third is on the North Side of the great Altar. Besides what is common to them, they have several bag Pipes in them, which counterfeit a Choir of Human voices exceeding naturally." These bagpipes seem to be what Mundy means by "The Instrumentt with a blowne bladder" mentioned above.

[1] Mr W. L. Sclater, F.Z.A., editor of the *Ibis*, has kindly furnished me with the following note on Mundy's statements: "It was generally recognized and accepted, even up to the days of Gilbert White, that swallows and martens hibernated in winter, retiring to caves or to retreats underground or underwater during the winter months." It is not therefore surprising that Mundy held the same opinion.

[2] Mr Sclater also informs me that Mundy's "Spittsgarres" may have been eels, perhaps elvers or young eels, which migrate up the river at certain seasons and do resemble lampreys without holes (spiricles) along the head. The term "Spittsgarres" suggests Garfish, but these do not resemble lampreys.

A Comparison beetweene Prusse and India.

These partts in som perticulers may bee compared to some parts off India, allthough Farre distantt and much differing in temperature off the aire, conditiones off the people, etts. For as there, if shippes take nott their opportunity to com away with the Monsoone are deteyned certayne Monthes[1], Soe here likewise, if shippes gett nott away in tyme are Frozen uppe untill spring, in which interim No trading by Sea by reason off Ice, as att Suratt [and] thereaboutts in tyme off Raynes, For stormes and currantts. As there the Trees are greene all the Yeare, soe here in many parts are greatt Forrests, woods and willdernesses off many Miles in length and breadth, off Pine or Firre trees, which continue greene winter and summer[2]. The Fruite or pine-apple[3], no bigger then an egge, comes to No perffection as in Spaine, where they are very large and have under every Scale a Smalle nutt called Piniones, esteemed better then almonds[4]. Moreover, as there some tyme off the yeare, in Many places, Cattle can hardly com by Fodder in the Feilds by reason off heatt and droughtt; Soe here, through cold weather, Frost and Snow, Scarce any Cattle lefft outt all winter long, either covered with Snow or Frozen allsoe [by] the sharpnesse and bitternesse off the weather.

A Monstrous or wonderous birth.

Att my beeing here came to this place one Lazarus Collaretto, an Italian borne att Genoa, a pretty [well set up]

[1] For trading in India by monsoons or seasons, see *ante*, vol. II. pp. 30, 31.

[2] The general likeness of the scenery in the great North German plains to that of the Indian plains has struck the editor also. The country from, say Halle to Berlin, has much the appearance of that from, say Delhi to Agra. There is the same absence of hedges and fences between cultivated fields, and the same apparently inconsequent rising up of village homesteads amid trees and of towns out of the plains in both.

[3] "Pine-apple" is here used in its obsolete sense of "pine-kernel." In Russia Siberian "pine-kernels" are called cedar-nuts, and Mrs Howe tells me that they are considered to look like ants' eggs.

[4] Mundy is referring to the Sp. *piñon*, a pine-kernel, the edible seed of the stone-pine (*Pinus Pinea*) of the South of Europe: Fr. *pignon*, obs. Eng. *pignon*.

yong Man, who had a living, breathing child growing Fast to his belly, somwhatt on one side, having head, hands, Feett, etts., off humaine Shape, allthough disformed: a wonderffull spectacle. Hee had bin Formerly here, as allsoe in England, Scottland, Fraunce, Spaine, etts., and could speake all those languages. Hee wentt From hence uppe into Poland and From thence intended For Turky[1]. He came hither against the greatt Domiminicke Faire held here[2], butt was Forbidden to bee seene by reason off hurt thatt Mightt ensue to Married weomen, especially the yonger sortt, through their to[o] strong apprehension or Imagination therof[3],

[1] Lazarus Colloreto, or Colloredo, is the most celebrated instance of parasite-bearing, or unequal double monsters. Born in the parish of S. Bartolomeo de Costa near Genoa, 12th March, 1617, of perfectly healthy parents who had several older, well-formed children, the "monster" was described a few days later in a letter of the Genoese doctor, Augustino Piceto, to Fortunius Licetus. Both letter and reply are reproduced, with a figure, in the latter's book; *De monstrorum caussis, natura, et differentiis*, 2nd ed. 1634, pp. 114–116.

At birth the parasite was half the size of the brother to whom he adhered *in ventre inferiore*, and was a tolerably well-formed child, only wanting one leg and two fingers of one hand; but his eyes were closed. He slept and moved independently of his brother but had no separate nutritive functions. Both bodies received baptism, the one being christened Lazarus, the other Joannes Baptista. Colloreto was seen, at the age of 28, at Copenhagen by Tho. Bartholinus, who describes Lazarus as "of good stature, decent body, good manners, and dressed in courtly fashion." He carefully tended both his own body and his brother's, concealing the latter with a cloak so that the "monster" did not appear at first sight. A picture from nature is given in the Appendix to the Amsterdam edition of the work of Fortunius Licetus noted above.

Mundy's statement that Colloreto had visited England is confirmed by an entry in the Norwich *Mayor's Court Books*, of 21 December 1640: "This day Larzeus Collereto have leave to shewe a monster until the day after twelve, he shewing to the Court a lycense signed with his Majesties owne hand." See Murray, *Eng. Dramatic Cos.* II. p. 359. I am indebted to Miss M. Vagner for the information contained in this note.

[2] The great Danzig Dominick Fair was founded in 1260 and was continued, with much abated splendour up to modern times. It began on the 4th August, S. Dominic's day, and lasted for some weeks. The writer of the *Particular Description* (p. 19) calls it the "Mess or Mart, the Dantz Dominick" and says it was held on the "Place of St. Dominick," that it was formerly as famous as the Leipsic and Frankfurt Fairs, but that, at the beginning of the 18th century, it had "declined in reputation." See Hans Wistulanus, *Danzig*, pp. 25, 34; Löschin, *op. cit.* (Th. I.), p. 33.

[3] For the scientific discussion of this traditional belief, see Geoffroy St Hilaire, *Histoire générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation*,

A Custom.

Among other Customes here, Burgers if they remoove to another Country must loose and leave beehind them the $\frac{1}{10}$th part off their estate to the Citties use[1].

Here follow some of the habitts used hereawaies, as per Contrarie [*i.e.*, the page of illustrations bound in the MS. opposite this folio].

[Mundy's description of Plate X, Illustration No. 11.]

A. A Polish gentleman: they ordinarily have their heads shaven, leaving one lock which commeth from the Crowne of their head to the Forepart, like a crest hanguing Forward, whearas the Turckes have a locke which [? lies] Just on the crowne. The Turcke and Pole, as they are neighbours in countries, soe are they Neare in habitt[2].

B. A Dantzigker Jungffer [Ger. *Jungfer*, a maid] or Damzell, beeginning to dance with him, which is here extraordinarily used att their weddings[3], allthough the dances are nott soe extraordinary For whatt I cold see or hear, generally after the Polish manner; Not soe artificiall and active as galliards and Corantoes[4] with us, Nor soe full

&c. (p. 540 ff.), who allows a certain influence to mental shocks and moral impressions. The general opinion respecting maternal impressions seems to be that it is impossible to set aside the influence of subjective states of the mother altogether, but that there is no direct connection between the cause of the subjective state and the resulting anomaly.

[1] Mundy is alluding to the provision in the code of laws of the City of Danzig which enacted that a citizen who, with his household, had left the town for a year and a day, was compelled to pay the value of one-tenth of his property in order to regain his citizenship. See *Neu revidirte Willkühr der Stadt Danzig*, Th. 3, Cap. 2, Arts. 1 and 5.

[2] The shaven heads of the Poles aroused the comments of all the writers of the 17th and 18th centuries and various reasons are given for the origin of the custom. See Moryson, IV. 216; Beaujeu, p. 7; Zeiler, *Beschreibung des Königreichs Polen*, pp. 53–54, *Itin.* I. 532; Jones, *Hist. of Poland*, Section XVI, p. 19.

In Mundy's time costumes, male and female, in Danzig were Polish in character.

[3] Bargrave (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 77) was present at a wedding at Danzig in 1652, "at which we had the view of most of the Dantzick Beauties...they danc'd after the Polish manner in about 20 Couples."

[4] Both the Galliard and Courante are mentioned by Shakespeare (*Twelfth Night*, I. iii. 137), the former was a quick lively dance, the latter characterized by a gliding step. By "artificiall and active," Mundy seems to mean "intricate and sprightly."

No. 11. Habitts used hereawaies (Dantzigk).

off pleasant passages and changes as our Countrie dances; however very seemely and gentile. One great use thatt they make of these Meetings is to give an opportunity to young Men and Maides to growe acquainted and to speake to one another, which otherwise is not soe easie to bee don.

C. A Heyducke with a Magheerkee or Feltt Cappe. These are a certaine order off Foot souldiers[1], somwhatt to bee compared with the Janizaries in Turky[2].

D. Another Danziker yongffer [*Jungfer*] with a garland on her head[3], which they usually wear From the publication of the banes[4] till they bee married.

E. A married woman with a Furd cappe in winter and a Muffe; in summer with a hatt, the yonger Sort.

F. A man with a Muffe, which commonly is of a whole otters skynne, itt beeing the Custom For all sexes and ages to wear Muffes.

G. A Pole with a Furd coate.

[1] A Haiduk (Heiduc, Heyduke) with a *magyarka* (Hung.), a long Hungarian (Magyar) cape or cloak.

The term Haiduk (Hungarian *hadju*, pl. *hadjuk*, a driver, shepherd, Polish, *hajduk*) was applied in Hungary to a militia of mercenary soldiers of Magyar stock, who were re-organised in 1605 and rewarded for special services.

In Poland, as in Germany, Sweden and some other countries, the title, in Mundy's day, designated an attendant in a court of law, a male servant dressed in Hungarian semi-military costume, a member of a special corps of infantry. Mundy's illustration and description apply to the last named and his "certaine order off Foot souldiers" indicates the Polish King's bodyguard of infantry (Ger. *Trabanten*, Du. *Heyduggen*) who were responsible for his personal safety.

For illustrations of Haiduks, see Braun and Hohenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Lib. VI, Cracovia, &c.; Abraham, à Sancta Clara, *Neu eröffnete Welt-Gallerie*, &c. For historical references to Haiduks, see *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*; Janusz, *Dict. Complet Français-Polonais*; Cromer, *Beschreibung des Königreichs Polen*; Brockhaus, *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyklopädie*.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 43, n. 2 and index, *s.v.* Janissaries.

[3] This kind of headdress resembles the bandeau, in the form of a diadem surmounted by flowers, worn on fête-days by young Cracoviennes. See Planché, *Cyclopaedia of Costume*, p. 353.

[4] By the Lateran Council of 1215 the publication of banns, which had already been in practice for many years in different Christian countries, was made compulsory in all Christendom.

H. A Polish gentlewoman with a short cloake[1] and a cloath under her Chinne, with us termed a Muffler[2].

I. A woman after the old Polish Fashion, with such a greatt round ornament on their heads of bevers haire, not off thatt sofft wooll on the womb [belly] like downe, butt off the haires on his backe, which are long, black and shining.

K. A Danstzigker woman with a short cloake, termed a Smarga, which hath Never More nor lesse than 4 plaites[3].

L. A polish gentleman or lord.

M. A woman of Coninxberg [Königsberg] off the better Sort, their hoods off beaver haire allsoe[4].

N. Another woman off that place after the old Fashion[5], the Furre off a grey Squirrell called by us [blank][6].

O. Another off the common Sort.

P. The hood or cappe beelonguing to Figure M.

M. N. O. P. aperteyne to Coninxberg and should have been placed in folio 188[7].

Cocks and capons.

Hier [Danzig] sometymes, as they cutt Cockes to make Capons, they cutt of his spurr[s] and comb, and fastning one of the spurres on his head while the bloud is wa[rm]e, itt groweth together as if itt had bin Naturall, as in the margentt[8]. A question may bee asked whither a peece of a Mans

[1] Mundy is right. The Polish women of his day usually wore short fur-trimmed jackets as shown in D and E and caps and capes, either entirely of fur or fur-trimmed as in E, I, K. See Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, p. 69.

[2] Mundy is using the term muffler in its obsolete sense of a kerchief worn by women in the 16th and 17th centuries to cover part of the face and the neck.

[3] Compare this short pleated cape with that of the Merchant's wife of Nuremberg (1643) in Hollar, *Theatrum Mulierum*, p. 40. As to "Smarga," Mr N. B. Jopson suggests that Mundy probably heard the Lithuanian term *marginiai* (cloth woven in different colours), applied to the pleated skirt worn by the women of Danzig, and mistook it for a cape.

[4] L and M are missing from the picture (Plate X, illustration No. 11).

[5] For costumes of Polish gentlemen and for one similar to N, see Braun and Hohenberg, *op. cit.* VI. (47), (28).

[6] The word omitted by Mundy is probably "gris," an obsolete term for any kind of grey fur.

[7] This is a footnote added by the author. There is no illustration on fol. 188, *ante*, p. 92.

[8] See illustration inset.

eare, or some other part, beeing cutt of through Misffortune, being sodainely applied to the place while the bloud is yett warme, whither itt would nott grow together and heale (itt may bee tried on a dogge), and whither the part of one Creature will not growe on another[1].

The $\frac{10}{20}$ *Marche Anno* 1643. All whatt before is written is after the old stile, butt from hence I will follow the New[2]. Allsoe in the Following journey I reckon English Miles, although from the wagoners, etts., I was in [*sic*] enformed by Dutch Miles. Itt is to bee understood that 15 rightt Dutch miles make one degree in the Equator, and wee reckon 20 leagues or 60 English Miles, so thatt truely 4 English Miles is one Dutch Mile, butt in travelling there is Much difference, sometymes 3, sometymes 4, are reckoned[3].

[1] Dr F. A. Bather, Deputy Keeper of the Geological Department of the British Museum (Natural History), to whom I referred this passage, has been good enough to supply me with the following note: "To the best of my information the answer to Mundy's question is in the affirmative, at least as regards the first half of it. As regards the second half of it, there is a limit beyond which the experiment will not succeed, that is to say, the two creatures must be somewhat closely related. One would not expect, for instance, a part of an amphibian to grow on a mammal. It is, I understand, also the case that, although the transplanted part would not putrify but would continue to live, it would not strictly speaking 'grow.' Its tissues would be gradually invaded by the tissues of the host on which it was implanted. This, put quite broadly, I believe to be the present state of our knowledge on this question."

[2] The Reform of the Calendar (New Style) was introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 and was adopted in Poland in 1586.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 52, 96 and note on p. 52.

Journey [by road] From Dantzigk in [blank] To Warsaw in Poland, beegun the day abovesaid, and proceed as followethe

	Eng. M.
From Dantzigk To Steeblaw [Stublau]	12
From thence To Polshaw [Palschau]	1
From thence To Grosselightnaw [Gross-Lichtenau]	6
From thence To Marienburge [Marienburg]	5
From thence To Stoome [Stuhm]	8
From thence To Weishoffe [Weisshof]	5
From thence to Marienwarder [Marienwerder]	4
From thence To Knoblockrugh [Knoblauchkrug][1]	16
From thence To Growdins [Graudenz][2]	4
From thence To Robokova [Robkau]	8
From thence To Colmsey [Kulmsee][3]	12
From thence To Leseemeetsee [Lissomitz]	8
From thence To Thorunia [Thorn]	4

From Dantzigk to Thorunia in 3 dayes, 93 miles.

The 14th March wee departed

From Toorne to Deebaw Castle [Dybow]	
From thence To Slushebo [Sluzewo]	12
From thence To Coneetsco [Koneck]	4
From thence To Loveetzee [Lowiczek]	4
From thence To Breseschee [Brzezie, Brzesc]	8
From thence To Covaolee [Kowal]	12
From thence To Gustaneen [Gostynin]	12
From thence to Gumbeene [Gombin]	12
From thence To Saleebee [Sanniki]	8
From thence To Sakacheebo [Sochaczew]	12
From thence To Blonia [Blonie]	16
From thence To Warsaw	16
	209

[1] Knoblockrugh, the Garlic Inn (Knoblauchkrug), probably at Garmsel between Marienwerder and Graudenz.

[2] See *ante*, Rel. XXXIII. p. 96 and 97 n. 1.

[3] See *ante*, Rel. XXXIII. p. 97 n. 1.

In 4 daies from Thorunia to Warsaw 116 miles in all. From Dantzigk to Warsow, 209 which is 52¼ Dutch Miles. It makes More if you accompt From Torne to Warsow 3 English to 1 Dutch Mile, which may bee soe.

Grosselightnaw [Gross-Lichtenau]

Itt is nott only reported, butt they say itt is allso recorded in the Cronicles of Prussia, thatt in the tyme of the Cruitz Herren [Kreuz-Herren, Teutonic Knights] or knights of the Crosse strange abuses and outrages have bin Committed in the Crooh att Grosselieghtnaw by the bawers, boores or Countrypeople, ploughmen, etts., att their druncken assemblies. As thatt they roasted a poore man alive thatt came to begge an almes, abusing Churchemen, etts., and such like, For which they were enjoyned by the knights of the ✠ for a punishment to lay and joine on the high way soe many ✠ grosses [*sic*][1] one by another as should reach from the said Crooh to Marienburge, beeing 5 English Miles, and beesides, there to build a tower, whose Morter should bee tempred with buttermilke[2]. And as then, soe to this day, A Crew of

[1] The sign ✠ here is interesting. Mundy appears to mean by "Knights of the ✠," "Knights of the Cross," *i.e.* the Kreuz-Herren; and by "soe many ✠ grosses," "so many *kreutzer groschen*," a *kreutzer* being a coin of three old Polish *groschen*, or "so many groschen of the Kreuz," *i.e.* of the Kreuz-Herren.

[2] The traditional account of the story related by Mundy is given by Feyerabend (*Kosmopolitische Wanderungen*, I. 408–409), who says that, for roasting a pilgrim alive, the peasants of Lichtenau were condemned to build the round ward-tower of Marienburg, and to be imprisoned for a year on bread and water. To escape the prison penalty, they offered to lay Prussian groschen the whole way from Marienburg to Gross-Lichtenau.

Simon Grunau (*Preussische Chronik*, I. 717–721), who is less trustworthy, connects the building of the "Lichtenawer Thurm" with an outrage on the parish priest and the Sacrament by the peasants of Gross-Lichtenau about the year 1406. An official from Marienburg, he relates, who came to punish the miscreants, was nailed up by his beard over a door and left hanging. His servants returned in force and slew many of the peasants, carrying off the rest to Marienburg, where numbers died in prison. As a penalty, the survivors were obliged to build the round tower by the Nogat.

Busching, *Das Schloss der deutschen Ritter zu Marienburg*, p. 75, derives the name "Schiwelichte Thurm" from *Scheibe*, roll, disk, on account of its round form, or perhaps also in allusion to the line of groschen mentioned above. Both he and Frick (*Schloss Marienburg*) refer

them will combine and vow one to another to Meet in such a Crooh and not to depart thence For a sett tyme, For a weeke, a Month or a yeare, as som say, and to spend thatt tyme in drincking druncke, sleeping, vomitting, till they bee sober, and then drincke till they bee druncke againe, soe continue using their best witts to play the beasts and to exceed them in beastly Fillthinesse. Itt is nott their Faultt alone, butt a greatt Many others in one degree or other, sometyme perhaps the reader and the writer allsoe The More to bee blamed.

Marienburge [Marienburg].

Marienburge, an ancient place though nott great, with a Famous Castle, built by the Kruitz Herren and their Cheifest Seat, now Much decayed[1].

Stoome [Stuhm].

Stoome, a Cittadell finely seated in a lake[2], or rather between 2 lakes, the waters of both Joyning att the Comming in and going outt of the towne, passed by bridges. I heard an Englishman say itt was thought the English staple should be there held.

Grawdins [Graudenz].

Grawdins, a Citty standing on high on the banckes of the River Wissell [Weichsel][3].

Thorunia or Toorn [Thorn].

Thorunia or Toorne, a handsome Citty, of which I have formerly said somwhat[4]. Only a word or two of the bridge, or 2 arches therof, which I then noted not, one at each end, of a wonderfull length, made of purpose to give a Free passage for the Ice when itt breakes aboutt the spring of

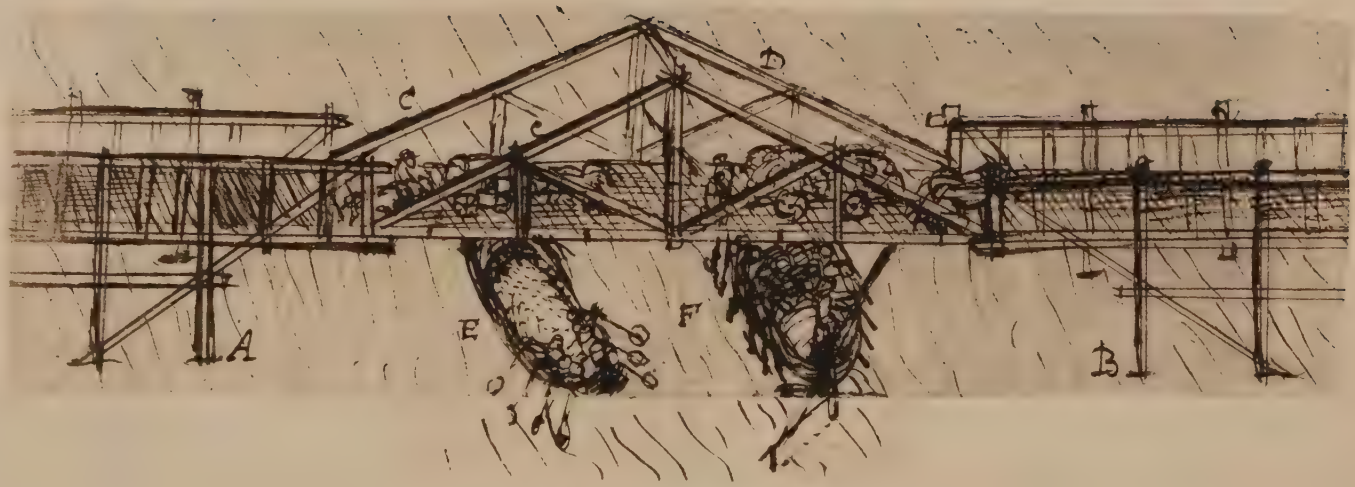
to the popular name "Buttermilch Thurm" as connected with a curious tradition that neither of them repeats. For details and illustrations, see Busching and Frick, *op. cit.*

[1] The Schloss at Marienburg, begun in 1274, was the residence of the Grand Master of the Knights of the Teutonic Order and was the finest mediaeval secular edifice in Central Europe.

[2] The ancient castle of the Teutonic Knights at Stuhm is still existing.

[3] See *ante*, pp. 96, 97, 194.

[4] See *ante*, pp. 99–101.



No. 12. Two Arches of the Bridge att Torne.

the year, which then comes downe in such a quantity and with such a violence thatt itt carries downe all afore itt, as bridges; butt the loose Ice beeing stopped by other Ice yet fast on the River, It causes the water soe to rise Thatt itt would overflow much of the Country, as heretofore it hath don, butt thatt itt is Now prevented with greatt labour, dilligence and care, by making high dammes or banckes, And much watch att the tyme of the yeare by bawers [*Bauer*] or country people, having their carts in a readinesse with stakes, straw, etts. [and other] Materialls to stoppe a breach on a sodaine, if Need require[1].

The Arches aforementioned are somwhatt after the forme described in the paper hereunder annexed[2]. Soe that from A to B, which is the widnesse of one arche, is 83 of my owne steppes, which is aboutt 60 English yeards or 180 English feet, the Floore, passage or way above hanguing on 4 beames, C. D., soe that thatt part of the bridge hangeth as a paire of scales with waights on a paire of Triangles; used att London[3]. E. A Cane [barge] comming downe laden with Corne rowed with paddles. F. Another setting uppe against the stream and with poles or staves, laden with Herrings, wyne, etts. Commodities from Dantzigk. They have rutchers[4] as our westerne barges att London or Gabarres[5] at Rohan [Rouen] in Fraunce with a great long tiller, all which somwhatt More or lesse is Thus described, *viz.*[6]

Hier att Toorne, by reason thatt a partt of the rest of

[1] The bridge at Thorn was seriously injured by the breaking up of the ice in 1611, 1615, 1628, and again in 1651. Bargrave who was at "Torne" a year later (Dec. 1652), went over "the great bridge on the Wesil, which costs annually about 30 thou[s]and Dollers (above 1000 *li.*) to repaire, and yet was it now so decayd, that passing over it my horse brake a hole through a Planke; and I esteeme my deliverance not among the least God has vouchsaf'd me" (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 74). See Wernicke, *Geschichte Thorns*, II. 273, for a history of the bridge.

[2] See Plate XI, illustration No. 12.

[3] Mundy seems to mean that he knew of a crane used in London, built on the same principle as the cantilever bridge he is describing.

[4] By "rutcher" Mundy probably means "rudder" in its obsolete sense of a paddle or oar for steering or propelling a vessel. The spelling "rutcher" is not in the *O.E.D.*

[5] F. *gabare*, Eng. gabbart, a lighter. See Vol. II. p. 224 *n.*

[6] See illustration No. 12.

the bridge was borne away (a little before our coming)[1] by Ice, weere [*sic*, ? we were] ferried over by boate—2 small boates made fast together, 2 wheeles of our wagon in one boate and 2 in the other, and all on the axletree: 2 off the horses Feet in one boat, the other 2 in the other. In such sort wee drove among the Ice, soe thatt wee seemed to bee in a Smalle Frozen sea. Att last, by little and little, with pulling shooving and Rowing, wee gott to the other side, allthough wee drove a great way downe ere wee gat over[2].

Breseschee [Brzezie, Brzesc].

Breseschee, a smalle Citty and head of the province Corravia[3]: one of the 24 provinces of Poland.

Covaolee [Kowal].

At Covaolee wee bought 2 hinder quarters of veal for 20 grosse (which is about 12d. English)[4] of the Jewes, who eatt not of the hinder quarters, From Jacobs wrestling with the Angell. Butt as I remember the Jewes att Constantinople eat therof, first taking away certaine Sinewes in the thigh, which they conceaved to bee hurt in Jacob[5]. There the butchers must bee learned, nott For this alone, butt they use very Many ceremonies in killing and cutting out other sundry sorts off beasts, foule, etts.[6]

Here in Poland they have Freedome to live[7], and in habit some of them here aloft were [wear] Flatte Cappes as the Biscayners [Basques] or Scotts, butt exceeding broad, generally untowardly and unfittly cladde, tattred and most part

[1] I have found no record of any material damage to the bridge between 1628 and 1651. See note above.

[2] This mode of progression is curious and must have been very uncomfortable for the horses.

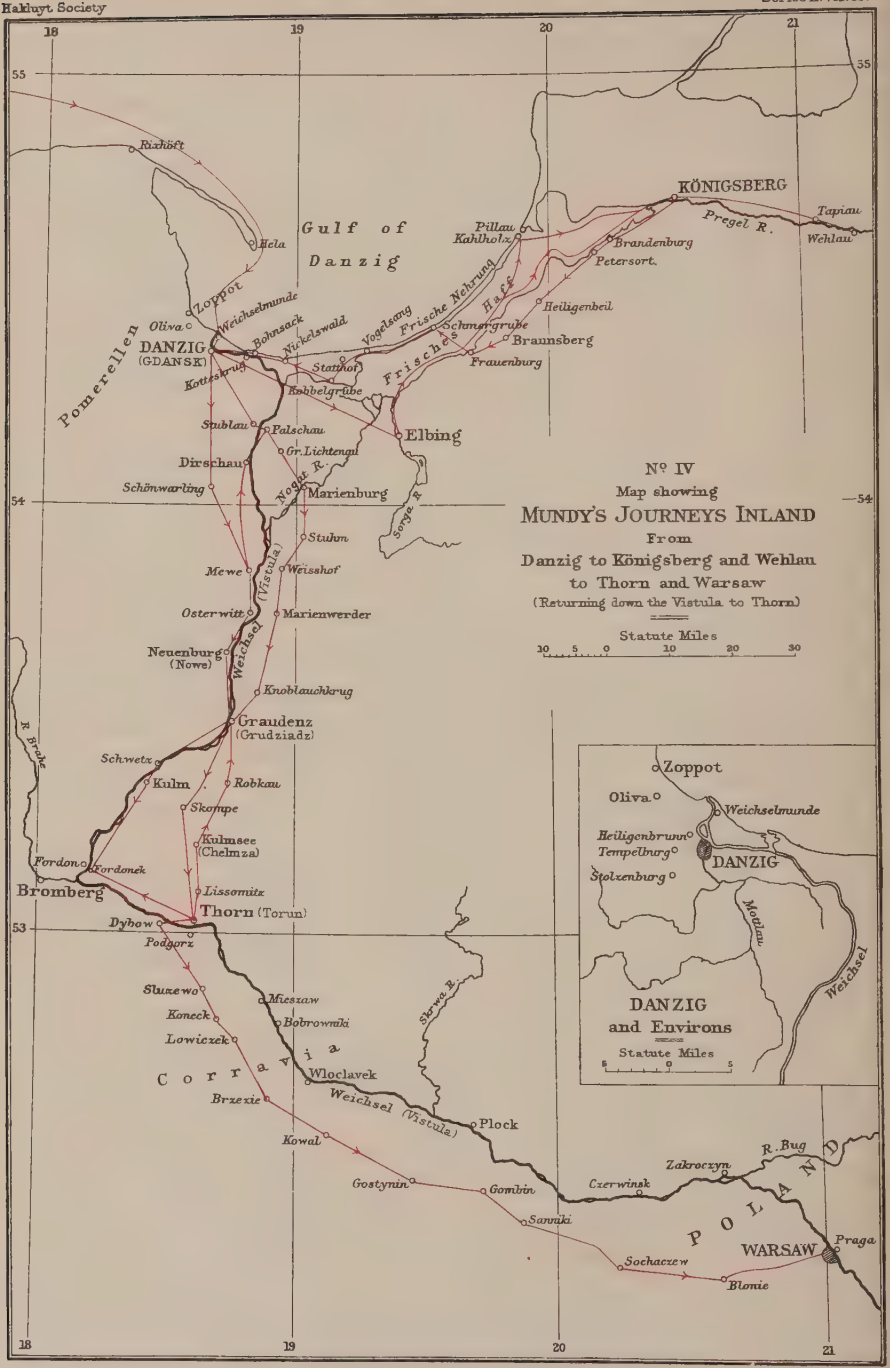
[3] Corravia or Cujavia adjoined Masovia and Rava on the East, and Lencicia and Calissia (Kalisia) on the South. It was sometimes reckoned as part of Lesser Poland. See Neugebauer, in Blaeu, *Géog. Blaviane*, II. *La Pologne*, p. 4; *The ancient and present state of Poland*, p. 2.

[4] The old Polish *grosz* was worth about three farthings English.

[5] See Genesis xxxii. 25, 32.

[6] Mundy is alluding to the customs observed in preparing "kosher" (Heb. *kasher*, clean) meat.

[7] *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 488, also says that Jews in Poland in the 17th century "generally" had "equall right with Christians."


18
19
20
21
55
54
Rixhöft
Hela
Gulf of Danzig
Zoppot
Oliva
Weichselmunde
DANZIG
(GDANSK)
Bohnsack
Nickelswald
Vogelsang
Frische Nehrung
Schmalzgrube
Haff
Pillau
Kahlholz
KÖNIGSBERG
Pregel R.
Tapiau
Wehlau
Brandenburg
Petersort
Heiligenbeil
Braunsberg
Frauenburg
Frisches
Pomerellen
Kotterbruch
Stanhof
Kobbelgrube
Stublau
Falschau
Elbing
Gr. Lichtenau
Dirschau
Schönwarling
Nogat R.
Marienburg
Sorge R.
Stuhm
Mewe
Weisshof
Vistula
Osterwitt
Marienwerder
Neuenburg
(Nowe)
Weichsel
Knoblauchkrug
Graudenz
(Grudziadz)
R. Brahe
Schwetz
Kulm
Robkau
Skompe
Kulmsee
(Chelmza)
Fordon
Fordonek
Bromberg
Lissomitz
Thorn (Torun)
Dybow
Podgorz
Sluzewo
Mieszaw
Koneck
Bobrowniki
Lowiczek
Strwa R.
Corrayia
Wloclavek
Brzexie
Weichsel (Vistula)
Plock
Kowal
Gostynin
Gombin
Sanniki
Zakroczyn
R. Bug
Czerwinsk
POLAND
WARSAW
Praga
Sochaczew
Blonie
No IV
Map showing
MUNDY'S JOURNEYS INLAND
From
Danzig to Königsberg and Wehlau
to Thorn and Warsaw
(Returning down the Vistula to Thorn)
Statute Miles
10 5 0 10 20 30
Zoppot
Oliva
Weichselmunde
Heiligenbrunn
Tempelburg
DANZIG
Stolzenburg
Motlau
Weichsel
DANZIG
and Environs
Statute Miles
5 0 5

bedabled, Farre unlike to those att Amsterdam, Hambro, Venice, Constantinople, which I have seene[1].

Gustaneene [Gostynin].

Att Gustaneene were remayning yett the sepulchers of 2 Moscoveterissen [Muskoviterischen] Lords, taken in the warres Anno 16[11], beeing kept prisoners here in the Castle, where they died, and were here buried: From hence remooved to Warsaw, where they were enterred againe and a Monument built over them. Att length, on a Conclusion of Peace beetweene the Pole and the Moscoviter, they were remooved to Moscow[2].

A Monster.

Hier over the Castle gate[3] [of Warsaw] is a Monster Fastned, of which the people report Fearfull things, as thatt itt would in the nightt com forth of som secret hole in the Castle and murder people in a strange Manner by laying himself over their Faces, stopping their breathes, and was att length soe Found on a prisoner whome [*sic*] was heard to Cry, butt erre they came to his reskew hee was dead. They then slew the said Monster and fastned him over the Castle gate. This is beeleived by the Commonalty: I thinck nott by the wiser sort[4]. But as Near as I could perceive and

[1] For Mundy's remarks on Jews at Amsterdam, see *ante*, Rel. xxxii, p. 70. He was twice at Hamburg (see *ante*, pp. 114, 161), but has no comments on the Jews there, nor on those he met at Constantinople in 1618–1620 (Vol. I), nor at Venice in 1620 (Vol. I).

[2] Demetrius Shuisky, a Muscovite general, and one of his brothers are said to have been imprisoned in Gostynin Castle, after the surrender of Moscow in 1611, and to have died in captivity. In their memory Sigismund III erected a beautiful little chapel, called the Muscovite Chapel, in the Cracow Faubourg of Warsaw. The chapel was subsequently dismantled and replaced by a Dominican convent. See *Polnischer Staat*, pp. 103–4; Starowolski, *Tractatus Polonia*, pp. 7, 40; Anon. *Histoire de Pologne*, pp. 175–6; Mérimée, *Le Faux Démétrius*, p. 97; Baudrand, *Dict. géog. et hist.*; Moreri, *Grand Dict.*, *s.v.* Gostynin.

[3] The former Royal Castle, Zamek Krolewski, in Sigismund Square, commenced by the Dukes of Masovia in the 9th century.

[4] I have failed to trace any allusion to the "Monster" or the legend connected with it. Mr Letts informs me that counterfeit basilisks and monsters sold by returned sailors in the 17th century were generally constructed from the dead bodies of thornback-rays. Sir Thomas Browne contrived them, doubtless for his museum at Norwich. See *Vulgar Errors*, Bk. III. Ch. vii.

Judge, beeing Near enough to discerne, itt is nothing butt a broad Fish called with us a Ray, disguised, disffigured, the Mouth Made open, etts., as I have seene in Amsterdam and Hambro to bee sould, soe cutt uppe thatt they perffittly resemble dragons or other Monsters, though nott soe bigge as this. Every Country, etts., can relate of some perticuler wonder, *viz.*, Mountaine, River, well, tree, stone, house: in England, many.

WARSAW.

From Thorne hither, to Warsaw[1], a Fertile plaine Country, but poore habitations, unffashionable [ill-constructed] durty villages, some townes and Citties, promising Much From withoutt by som old Castle, Churches, etts., butt within wast, with Foule ill contrived streets, sleight buildings: Thus For the Most part[2].

A Reichs tag or Parliament:

Hier att presentt was held a Reichs Tag [Ger. Reichstag], a Parliamentt or an assembly off the Nobles aboutt the states affaires. Itt was held in a greatt hall in the kings pallace, himselff sitting under a Canopy in a Chaire, with a bears skynne under his Feete, no higher then the Common Floore, the Rest of the Nobillity in Chaires allso, broughtt thither by their Servauntts and taken away every day or tyme they depart. There is a guard att the doore, yett allmost any Man May com in, Soe thatt the Councell is Full of strangers and others, Only [except] att some speciall tyme or occasion, and then all are excluded excepting the Councell[3].

[1] The "to" is redundant. The sense is "From Thorn, to this place, *i.e.*, Warsaw."

[2] Bargrave, however (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 24), found "the continued Plaine numerously bespread with pretty villages, decked with stately woods and watred with curious Rivoletts."

[3] There is no mention, in any account of the Polish constitution that I have consulted, of the custom regarding the chairs of the members of the Reichstag, as stated by Mundy. Jones, *Hist. of Poland*, says (p. 63): "At the diet the Polish palatines and castellans are arranged in three rows of armed chairs extending from the throne on each side." For the Polish Reichstag generally, see Olearius, p. 31; *Particular Descriptions*, pp. 27–28; Boswell, *Hist. of Poland*, p. 66.

Polish pompe: Coaches.

They repaire to itt with greate pomp and state att certayne tymes[1], every Noble Man in his Coach, which are extraordinary large, with glasse windows, each drawne with 6 horses [at] a very leisurely pace, a couple off heyducks standing uppon the hinder part of the Coach, each side one, his gentlemen and officers going, som riding before, a band or company of his owne heyducks [bodyguard] Following in their livery off one coullour and Fashion[2], with their Magueerkees or little Felt Cappes[3] and their armes, as sabres or back swords, poleaxes, gunnes, etts. This is generally speaking of one, to speak of all, only some Nobleman [*sic*] give a sundry coullour of livery to their heyducks.

The Poles [nobles] in their apparell much resembling the Turckes in Fashion and coullour, as Red, greene, blew, yellow, etts. light coullours, except they Mourne, then blacke generally; in Furd Capps Winter and Summer, only the greater Sort, for a greater bravery, wear a single Feather of a certaine kind of faulcon [really heron, egret], sticking uppe Right. Those Feathers are soe esteemed that one of them is vallued at [blank] a peece, sometymes att [blank[4]].

Prerogative of the great slavery of the Commonalty.

Those parliamentts or Reichstagen last nott above a Fortnight or 3 Weekes, and then every lord departs to his home where they live and rule like little kings[5]. Thus for the Nobility. Butt For the Common Sort of people, they are as Miserable on the other side, like slaves or beasts, allowed

[1] Dalérac (pseud. Beaujeu), quoted by Lelevel, *Hist. de Pologne*, I. 163 *n.*, says that under Sigismund III and Vladislaus IV, "Les palatins étaient autant de rois; on les voyait aller aux diètes avec douze mille hommes à leurs gages, soldats ou domestiques."

[2] See *ante*, note 1 on p. 191.

[3] See *ante*, p. 191 and note.

[4] "Sur les chapeaux et les bonnets [of the Polish nobles], on attachait un plumet de héron qui coûtait jusqu'à 500 ducats (6,000 fr.)." Lelevel, *Hist. de Pologne*, I. 119. See also Boswell, *Hist. of Poland*, p. 106.

[5] Compare *Shakespeare's Europe* (Moryson), p. 77: "The Palatines, Castellans and Gentlemens immunity from lawes and liberty in generall, and absolute Command with power of life and death in their own Territories and lands."

no More then will serve to keepe them alive, and in such case as they may bee able to labour againe; the lives of one of them slaine by his landlord not vallued above [blank] P[? ounds] English, which hee must pay [blank] For a fine[1].

The kings attendants.

The king himselffe most served and attended by strangers, as French, Italians, Germains, etts., som of them of exquisite quallities and skill in Architecture, painting, Musicke, engenious worcks, etts., as all his guard. Of all which I saw and heard somwhatt, *viz.*, Musicke, voices, pictures, buildings, statues, gardens, etts.[2]

Gardens.

In his gardeins wear other gardeins underground, *viz.*, a greatt vault or pitt like a Seller, 10 or 12 Foote deepe, aboutt 40 long and 20 broad, in Winter covered over with boards, thatt with straw, and the straw covered with dung againe. Soe thatt in Middle Winter itt Causeth underneath such warmth thatt herbes and Flowers, some Sort of them, spring and Flourish as in Summer[3].

Cranes.

Here [Warsaw] were certaine greatt Foule of an ashe coullor, called here Cranes and in India Saros, For those which in Spain ar called Cigueñas and the English call Cranes (which I conceave to bee the Rightt, beeing a greatt white fowle with blacke wings) are hier named Adebares[4].

[1] See *ante*, p. 183 and note. See also Le Laboureur, *Relation du Voyage* &c., pp. 106–107.

[2] Vladislaus IV was a great admirer of Italian literature and civilisation. In 1633 he called an excellent company of Italian singers and actors to his court, for whom a theatre was built in 1637 in the Warsaw Royal Palace. See Windakiewicz, *L'Opéra italien à la cour de Ladislas IV*. In the 16th and 17th centuries, artists, painters and sculptors, generally of Italian origin, often passed from Poland to the Imperial Court and *vice versa* (*ibid.*). See also Löschin, *Danzig*, I. 379–395.

[3] No reference has been found to these subterranean gardens.

[4] For *Sāras* and Crane see *ante*, p. 149. Cigueña is Spanish for a stork. Adebare (*Ardea ciconia*, Ger. *Storch*) is not a Polish word, but was borrowed from the German *Adebär*. The modern Polish word for stork is *bocian*. See Grimm, *s.v.* Adebar; Schiller und Lübben, *Mittelniederd. Wörterbuch*.

In this garden were allso other strange foule. Among the rest a Couple presented unto the king by the Tartarian Embassador[1] (here att presentt), like unto duckes, allthough much bigger and of a Red coullour[2].

A strange water worcke.

The Gardners servauntt shewed mee a house in a garden Near the pallace, which by wheele worckes drew water outt of a well of it selffe, which hee gave mee to understand after this Manner, *viz*:, among other is one great principall wheele unto which are fastned a greatt Number of pottts. This wheele, having once Motion given itt, Forceth upp a quantity of water through pipes by the helpe of pumpe holes, leathers, etts., as I have seene in other water worckes. Of this water, part runneth to the pallace and the rest runneth back in to the vessells fastned on the greatt wheele, which beeing of a greatt compasse, a little waight on the Circumference causeth itt to goe aboutt (as wee see in our common cranes where 1 Man will wey upp Near [blank] waight). Having once Motion, itt forceth upp Soe much water thatt supplies the kings house and itt selff againe to continue the said Motion of itt selffe, Soe thatt if this bee true, as I thinck itt is, Itt may bee rightly called a perpetual Motion: the water in the well supplyed by his owne springs[3]. Itt was contrived by an Italian[4], who dying and the worck comming out of frame, there hath bin none since can bee found thatt can bring itt into order againe, soe thatt att presentt there must bee 12 Tartar slaves to supply the worcke which the wheele alone

[1] The reference is to the proceedings of the Polish Commander-in-Chief, Stanislaus Koniecpolski against the Zaporazhian Cossacks of the Ukrain in 1636 and 1638, when he mercilessly repressed them. This would account for presents to Vladislaus IV, King of Poland in Mundy's time and for the presence of many Tartar slaves in Warsaw, as noted below.

[2] Mr W. L. Sclater informs me that Mundy's red duck is probably the *Tadorna casarca*, Ruddy Sheld-duck (Shell-duck, Shiel-duck, Shield-duck), the feminine of Sheldrake.

[3] Mundy is describing what is known in India as the "Persian Wheel" (*rahat*), in this case driven by water machinery supplied by itself. In India, Persia and Mesopotamia it is driven by a bullock. Such wheels are still common in Italy and Portugal.

[4] This engineer has not been identified.

performed of itt selffe. (This is to bee farther examined.) There are many other Tartar slaves aboutt the pallace imployed in drudgery, in Chaines aboutt their legges[1].

Another [garden].

In another garden was another device Intended and beegun by an Italian allsoe, butt remayned uneffectuall, which was a hart or dear of wood to run to and Fro perpetually by water worck; perhapps after the Nature of the Former. The wooden hart with some other devices were there yett to bee seene, yett new[2].

Munition-house.

Near unto the Citty is a New Munition house or Arsenall, a building where were greatt store of Armes, Ordnance, Morters, etts. Munition[3], part taken att Smolensco[4] and from thence brought hither: some of them very greadt [*sic*], especially one (I know not if termed a double Cannon), of aboutt 20 Foote long and aboutt 220 quintally or 26U400 *ll.* [in weight], att 120 *ll.* per C., shooting a bullet of 80 *ll.*[5]

Among persons of dignity here att presentt: Imprimis the king; then the queene, sister to the Emperor of Germany; Prince Cazmeere, the kings brother; [blank], bishop of Cracovia [Cracow][6]; and of other Noblemen and Ladies a greatt Number.

[1] See p. 203, note 1.

[2] I have found no reference to this mechanical device nor to the engineer who devised it.

[3] The arsenal at Warsaw was erected by Etienne Batory, predecessor of Sigismund III. From Mundy's statement, extensive alterations appear to have been made to it in 1643.

[4] Smolensk was a centre of contention between the Muscovites and the Poles for long before Mundy's day, and in 1634 Vladislaus IV inflicted a serious defeat on the Russian army there. The place was finally surrendered to the Russians in 1667.

[5] The quintal was a hundredweight of varying dimensions from 100 to 130 lb. Here Mundy takes it as 120 lb. For Mundy's sign for thousand, see *ante*, pp. 69, 161, 166, 169 n. 3.

[6] The King was Vladislaus IV (1632–1648), and the Queen was his first wife, Cecilia Renata of Austria, sister of the Emperor Ferdinand III. She was married in 1637 and died in 1644. John Casimir, a Cardinal, succeeded his brother Vladislaus IV in 1648, having been released from his Cardinal's vows. The Bishop of Cracow in 1643, whose name Mundy

Praage, a Village [Praga].

On the other side of the Wissell [Weichsel] over against the Citty lies a village called Praag[1], from whence Warsaw hath a faire prospect, itt standing on high ground Close by the River, The kings house, Churches, Coneetspoleskees[2], and the Rahthouse [Ger. *Rathaus*] kings garden beautifying itt much.

Our returne back from Warsaw to Dantzigk.

Aprill the first 1643. I and other good Freines [*sic*] tooke passage on a Cane [Ger. *Kahn*, a boat] to com downe by water, and wee proceeded from place to place as Followeth, rowing downe with the streame—

From Warsow to Plottskee [Plock][3]	M. 60
From thence [Warsaw] to the River Bugge [Bug]	M. 16
From thence to Sacrocheene [Zakroczyn]	M. 8
From thence to Chirkee [Czerwinsk]	M. 1
From thence to another Plotskee [Plock, pron. Plotsk]	M. 7

had forgotten, was Peter Czembicki. See Howe, *Thousand Years of Russian History*, p. 391; Gams, *Series Episcoporum* &c.

[1] Praga, on the right bank of the Vistula.

[2] By "Coneetspoleskees" Mundy means Koniecpolski. The Palace of Stanislas Koniecpolski, Castellan of Cracow, Polish Commander-in-chief, was near the present University in the Cracow Faubourg. I am indebted to Mr Leonard C. Wharton for this identification.

[3] Mundy has made a muddle of his journey here. He starts by saying that "From Warsow to Plottskee [Plock]" is 60 miles by river, and he then gives the detail by the R. Bugge (Bug), Sacrocheene (Zakroczyn), Chirkee (Czerwinsk), to "another Plotskee" and he makes all these places to be beyond Plock and not on the way thither. And then, in order to get his main mileage right, he much underrates the distances between these intermediate places. The real names and distances of the places he mentions between Warsaw and Danzig are as follows:

	Miles		Miles
Warsaw to the R. Bug	20	Thorn to Fordon (Fordonek)	25
R. Bug to Zakroczyn	5	Fordon to Kulm (Chelmno)	20
Zakroczyn to Czerwinsk	10	Kulm to Schwetz (Swiescie)	2
Czerwinsk to Plock	30	Schwetz to Graudenz	15
Plock to Vloclawek	30	Graudenz to Neuenburg	10
Vloclawek to Bobrowniki	12	Neuenburg to Mewe	15
Bobrowniki to Mieszawa	5	Mewe to Dirschau	20
Mieszawa to Thorn	20	Dirschau to Palschau	6
	132	Palschau to Danzig by road	15
			128

Total from Warsaw to Danzig 260 miles.

From thence to Vladislavia [Vloclawek]	M. 7
From thence to Bobubberneekee [Bobrowniki]	M. 12
From thence to Measava [Mieszawa]	M. 4
From thence to Thorunia [Thorn]	M. 24
From Warsaw to Thorunia by water	M. 139
From Thorunia to Dantzigk	M. 133
From Warsow to Dantzigk	M. 272
From Thorunia to Fourdalee [Fordon, Fordonek]	M. 24
From thence to Culme [Kulm, Chelmno]	M. 12
From thence to Suetsee [Schwetz or Swiescie]	M. 2
From thence to Grawdinsh [Graudenz]	M. 16
From thence to Newenburg [Neuenburg]	M. 18
From thence to Meve [Mewe]	M. 10
From thence to Darshaw [Dirschau]	M. 28
From thence to Polishaw [Palschau]	M. 10
From thence by land to Dantzigk	M. 13
From Thorunia to Dantzigk	M. 113 [*sic*, 133]

Dantzigk.

Beetweene Warsow and Plotskee [Plock] wee were 6 daies on the way, sometymes aground, sometymes lying still the day tyme, butt every night withoutt faile. Bugge [Bug] is a River on the Right hand with a ruined Castle by itt[1]. A little beefore wee came to Sacrocheene [Zakroczyn] was such broken ground as by Dholpore in India[2]. Beetweene Chirkee [Czerwinsk] and [blank] lies Charwa Castle[3]. Brotslavia or Vladislavia [Vloclawek] a pretty towne and a bishoppes see[4].

[1] Perhaps Novy-Dvor on the Bug, near its junction with the Weichsel or, more probably, the old Modlin where now stands the fort of Nowo-georgijewsk.

[2] See vol. II. pp. 63, 86, 89, where Mundy was much impressed with the broken ground round Dholpur.

[3] Possibly a castle guarding the Skrwa river.

[4] Vladislavia (Wladislaw, Wloclawek, Wlozlawek, now Vlotslav) in Great Poland, on the left bank of the Weichsel (Vistula), was the former capital of the Province of Cujavia and the seat of a bishopric under the Archbishop of Gnesen. See Ferrarius, *Lexicon Geog. Baudrand, s.v.* Vladislavia.

At Fourdalee [Fordon, Fordonek], wee paid Custom[1]. Not farre hence runnes in a River [Brahe] or Creeke to Bramberge [Bromberg], whence commeth good Polish white beere of wheat Malt[2]. Culme [Kulm], a towne near the River, said in old tyme to bee the English staple[3]. Suetsee [Schwetz, Swiescie], a towne with a faire Castle, som whatt ruinated[4]. Hereaboutts the Wissell [Weichsel] very Narrow butt deepe. On this side Growdins [Graudenz], towards Dantzigk, is much Inhabited by hollandish bowers [*Bauer*, peasant] who Made good land of the Marish and low ground lying Near the River by dammes, ditches, etts., in which thatt Nation is much exercised and expert[5].

Marien Warder [Marienwerder] lies an English Mile From the River. Hereaboutts runnes a branch of the Wissell to Marienburg, called Noga [Nogat][6]. Meve [Mewe], a smalle Citty close on the River. Darshaw [Dirschau, Darschau], another fine little citty to sight, allsoe on the River. Polshaw [Palschau], a Crooh [inn] and a Ferry over the River.

Dantzigke: An odde voyage.

From hence wee came to Dantzigk by land, itt beeing the 13th of Aprill, soe thatt wee were 13 daies on the way, making

[1] The old frontier between Poland and Prussia, "Fourdalee" represents Fordon, a name at this point on each side the Weichsel, with Fordonek between them.

[2] Bromberg is still in Posen, then under Poland.

[3] The year of the foundation of the English Staple or Warehouse (Packhaus) in Kulm can no longer be definitely traced, but it may be certainly assumed to be somewhat older than the one at Danzig, and probably not later than 1400, when Kulm itself was already on the decline. The New English Warehouse in that town eventually became the existing Hôtel de Rome. See Schultz, *Geschichte der Stadt und des Kreises Kulm*, pp. 168–172.

[4] The "faire Castle" at Schwetz was fortified by Swantspolk, Duke of Pomerania *c.* 1239 and further strengthened against the attacks of the Teutonic Knights in 1243. See Schultz, *op. cit.* pp. 58, 76.

The *Tiefbett*, deep bed, of the Weichsel above Zantir, where the Nogat branches off from it, formed the boundary of the lands of the Duke of Pomerania and those of the Knights of the Teutonic Order by the Arbitration of 1247 (*ibid.* pp. 76, 89, 130).

[5] The land here lies below river level and is still protected from inundation by embankments.

[6] Mundy has made a mistake. Marienwerder is on the Liebe and Marienburg on the Nogat (see *ante*, p. 196): the two towns are not far apart.

our reckning att first itt would nott bee above 4 or 5, and thatt wee should have had a short passage downe the streame, butt wee were deceaved, beeing Not acquainted with such kind of seamen, For this is another Manner of voyaging.

Danger on the Wissell.

They had som reason for their delay, *viz.*, much wind, cold hard weather. Divers canes [*Kahn*, boat] were said to bee Suncke aboutt thatt tyme comming downe. They are commonly laden within 6 or 8 inches of the brymme, soe thatt if they com aground and thatt itt a little overblow, they endaunger loosing cane and corne (the people not in soe great hazard), therfore are wary and tedious in their passage.

Pilot boates.

They have allwaies a very little narrow boate, or trough rather, wherin one thatt is nott accustomed would hardly adventure to Sitt in, worse to stand upp in. These little pilatt boates, with one man in them, are sentt a pretty [considerable] distance before, who with one oare paddles his boat forth as those thatt [? go] downe the River From the Country to Bayon in France[1]. I say these sound the depth with their paddle as they goe forth, and [with] their said paddle Make a signe to the Cane, weaving [waving] them to the Rightt or left hand, etts., whichever followes the little prow[2].

Hard cold wether 8 daies after Easter.

Att our arrivall att Dantzigk, beeing the $\frac{3}{13}$th Aprill, was such a hard Frost that some of our hollandish guests wentt over the Ice on the Motlaw with shrittshooes[3] by the Citty where shipps use to lye.

Grave Wolmars triumphantt entertaynement att Dantzigke, outward bound.

Anno 1644 came Grave [Grev] Wolmaer, one of the king of Denmarckes naturall Sonnes by Fraw Christina, who was

[1] Mundy was in Bayonne in 1610 and 1625. See Vol. I. pp. 13, 138.
[2] Malay *prāhu, prāu*, a canoe. See Vol. II. p. 373 note 1.
[3] Ger. *Schlittschuhe*, skates.

not his lawfull wiffe, butt one of those whome hee married giving his left hand (as they say). The said Fraw Christina was lately banished For entending to poyson the king, who tooke in to her roome [in her place] the waiting gentlewoman thatt discovered itt[1].

The said grave or Earle was traveilling towards the Citty of Mosko, there to espouse the greatt Duke (of Moscovia) his daughter. Here hee held the estate of a prince and was accordingly enterteyned by this Citty by visitts, banketts, presentts, etts.[2] Most of his attendantts, guard, trumpetters, Followers, officers, apparrelled in red; beeing part of the cloath which his Father seized on att Gluckstadt by Hambro [Hamburg] in an English shippe, For which hee after made satisfaction by another shippe of his which came From India, which was mett withall in the Channell and brought in to Portsmouth[3].

Sleightt wellcome backe.

The next year the Grave came backe to this place againe withoutt any thing att all effected in thatt Matter, And with very little or no Notice att all taken of his beeing here, having his residence withoutt the Citty, where some tyme hee privately came and harboured himselffe in some privat Inne. Some say the Matche was broken through the Instigation of

[1] Christina Monk (Kirsten Munch) was the morganatic wife of Christian IV of Denmark. Her downfall is variously attributed to her own intrigues and to the King's passion for Vibeke Kruse, her attendant. For original documents relating to her supposed use of a "white powder" and for the Interrogatory conducted by Christian IV in person see Suhm, *Nye Samlinger* etc. Bd. I. pp. 98–102. See also Liisberg, *Christian IV*, pp. 255, 369–382, 403.

[2] Mikhail Romanov, Czar of Russia, proposed a marriage between his daughter and Christian IV's son in 1643. Accordingly, Grev Waldemar was splendidly equipped, in spite of the emptiness of the royal coffers, and sent to the Russian Court. See Liisberg, *op. cit.* p. 432.

[3] For an allusion to the seizure of cloth from English merchants, see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* Chas. I, 1644, p. 196. The "satisfaction" noted by Mundy was, in reality, retaliation, for the *Golden Sun*, a Danish E. I. ship was captured by the English Vice-Admiral in July 1644 and sent under convoy to Portsmouth, so that if it were thought fit to seek redress for "the losses and miseries received from the King of Denmark by our English merchants, this opportunity will not be omitted" (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, Chas. I, 1644, p. 356).

the Swede, uppon Jealousies of some Invasion or new warre thatt might happen beetweene him and the Moscovite through this Matche. Other say it was Frustrated through Infformation given the greatt Duke of his Illigitimate [morganatic] birth. Soe it was thatt the marriage was nott only annulled, but hee himselff allsoe conffined and deteyned in the Country, Soe thatt with much adoe and greatt danger of his liffe hee escaped From thence[1]. Soe thatt you may perceave by this example off the Father and the Sonne, thatt Princes and greatt men are many tymes Subject to troubles, dangers and disgrace as well as those of Inferiour degree.

Madamme de Nevers, queene of Poland; her wellcom to Dantzigke.

Anno $\frac{1645}{1646}$ *the 10th February* came Madamme de Nevers, a great lady of Fraunce to bee married to the king of Poland, to whome shee was allready espoused by deputy[2]. The Citty shewed her affection, liberality, art and strength (in which shee is enfferiour to Few others) in honnouring their protector king and wellcomming his espoused queene with costly and Magnificent banquetts, presentts, sundry triumphantt Arches, especially one by the Raht house or Councell house which cost alone above 20U000 Florines (is about 5000 *li.* sterling)[3], allsoe artificiall dances, as the kersners [Ger.

[1] The proposed alliance with the Russian Princess was broken off, to Christian IV's great disappointment, probably on account of the warlike activities of Sweden in 1643, reports of which reached Moscow at the same time as Grev Waldemar Christian. After many difficulties, he returned home in 1645, and took service under the Emperor. Liisberg, *op. cit.* p. 491, note 2.

[2] Cardinal Mazarin, wishing to detach Vladislaus IV from the Austrian Alliance, offered Marie Louise (Maria Ludovika Gonzaga) daughter of the Duke of Nevers to him as a second wife, his first wife having died in 1644. The dowry of Marie Louise was 800,000 livres. She was married by proxy (Count Gerard Douhoff, Palatine of Pomerania) at Fontainebleau on the 26th Sept. 1645 and left Paris on the following day for Poland. The date given by Mundy, 10 Feb. 1645/6, refers to the arrival of the Queen and her train at the Abbey of Oliva outside Danzig, where she slept that night. The following day Prince Charles, brother of the King, went to meet her there and she then made her official entrance into the city. See Bain, *Slavonic Europe*, pp. 199, 207: Le Laboureur, *Relation d'un Voyage*, pp. 2–3, 136–138, 140.

[3] By "Florines," Mundy seems to mean dollars worth 5*s.* each.

Kürschner] or Furriers and Marriners, costly and artificiall Fireworckes, the Citty Souldiers, burgers and strangers in armes (both within and withoutt the Citty) in their acoutrements; in all aboutt 70 ensign[s, companies of] horse and Foote. And lastly, in this tyme of generall rejoycing, Proclamations, etts. orders For preventing tumults, Fire, etts.[1] Shee stayed aboutt 10 daies and then proceeded towards Warsow[2]. Of her receaving in to the Citty, entertaynement and conducting Forth, there is a booke printed[3], and another yet unfinished, to decipher all by prints or Copper-peeces [plates][4]. The king and queenes effigies or pictures are on the other side[5]. hee then aboutt 50 and she 37 yeares of Age.

An engenious device.

The other print is of an Invention made by Weeb Adam, a citty Ingenier, to convey earth over the citty ditch From

[1] Le Laboureur, who gives a detailed account of the royal progress and the ceremonies that accompanied it, describes two triumphal arches in the middle of the main street, one of which was supported by Atlas and Hercules in the form of a rainbow, while beneath was a framed picture of the city of Danzig illuminated by the rising sun and surrounded with appropriate verses, pictures and emblems. Inside the statues of Hercules and Atlas were living men who shouted, as the royal couple passed, "Vivat Rex; Regina Vivat."

The second arch was larger, higher and still more magnificent. It was decorated with the effigies of the most famous kings of Poland, surmounted by a crowned queen, &c.

Le Laboureur also describes a ballet of the "menues gens de la ville," with lighted paper lanterns, that took place after a feast on the 12th February. Three days later a comedy was performed; and on the 16th February there was an elaborate display of fireworks. On the 19th Feb. the Queen visited the Arsenal and saw the mechanical figures described by Mundy, *ante*, p. 171. See Le Laboureur, *op. cit.* pp. 173–174, 151–167.

[2] The King and Queen left Danzig on the 21st February 1645/6 (Le Laboureur, p. 173).

[3] The book referred to must be Adam Joseph Martini's *Kürtze Beschreibung und Entwurff alles dessen was bey der...Princessin...Ludovicae Mariae Gonzagae...Königlicher Mayst: zu Polen und Schweden....Gespons geschehenen Einzüge in die...Stadt Dantzig, sich denckwürdiges begeben und zugetragen.* Dantzig, 1646.

[4] The unfinished book is evidently the description of the festivities, which the Council of Danzig ordered to be printed, and adorned with engravings on copper of the triumphal arches and "spectacula," in the Dutch manner. See Löschin, I. 410–11, also Preface to Martini (*supra*, note 3).

[5] The pictures of Vladislaus IV and his Queen are not now to be found in Mundy's MS.

Bishoppsberg[1], a hill very Near the Citty (of which there are Many), to the wall therof to make it higher, itt being aboutt 150 Fathom or 900 Feete over[2], and hath aboutt 200 basketts and bucketts Fastned and hanguing on hawsers, having only the helpe of 2 horses to draw itt aboutt, with some labourers to Fill and empty the basketts, et[ts]. The hill is much higher then the wall Soe thatt the waightt of the full basketts helpe themselves over as the empty ones backe againe, going continually round. The same Man is (by some) said to have Made the perpetuall water worcke at Warsovia in the kings gardein, Mentioned in the afforegoing Folio[3].

English tumblers.

Anno 1646 and 47 came hither and [*sic*] English tumbler, who, with aboutt a Foote advauntage, would leape cleare over 8, sometimes 9, 10 or More tall Men standing upright one before another, making one turne in the aire, allsoe over sundry paires of swords, *viz*. 6 or 7 paire a good distance one from another, over a paire of partisans[4] and through a hoope held uppe as high as 2 men could hold, and the like, allso dance on a rope in heavy compleat armour, the like yett Never seene to bee performed by any, as by the Figure hereby[5]. In my opinion the sodaine contracting of his body in the aire is an occasion of higher, Farther and quicker shooting Forth.

In the Interim of my beeing here att Dantzigk I went to Braunsberge[6], a smalle Citty aboutt 16 miles beeyond Elbing,

[1] Bischofsberg, a hill to the W. of Danzig.

[2] No mention has been found of Weeb Adam or of his contrivance, which is similar to that described on p. 203.

Many attempts to lessen the vulnerability of Danzig from the hills in its neighbourhood were made in the 17th century, and in 1627 a redoubt was constructed on the Bischofsberg. It may be to this that Mundy refers. See Löschin, I. 350–352; Duisburg, pp. 331–333.

[3] See *ante*, p. 203.

[4] "Partisan" is defined in the *O.E.D.* as a military weapon used by footmen in the 16th and 17th centuries, consisting of a long-handled spear, the blade having one or more lateral cutting projections, variously shaped, so as sometimes to pass into the gisarme and the halberd.

[5] The figure is missing from Mundy's MS., and I have found no mention of this particular acrobat.

[6] See *ante*, p. 105.

where att Shrovetide is a running att tilt, not in such courtly Manner as wee read in former tymes to bee performed by lords and knights, for this was don by labourers and countrymen in a course and rusticke fashion. Soe went thither on the Ice, it beeing acted somwhatt after the Following Manner.

Running att tilt after a Rustick Manner.

First, those thatt are appointed to run were armed in the towne house or Yunckerhoffe [Junkerhof], their armour beeing very old and after an antique fashion, in my judgement not lesse then ¾ C: waight, the stemme on the heele of their spurres Nere 1 spanne long, they beeing led backewards downe the staires beetweene 2 others, For they could not well com downe forward by reason of their long heeles, their lances beeing long bigge rough poles with greatt wodden knobbes at the ends: their horses none of the best, withoutt Saddle or stirrupps.

Att the sound of trumpetts they sett forth, their horses pricked or spurred on, butt Most commonly beaten forward by the standers by till they come Near, when every one aimes at his fellow, whome if hee hitt hee surely comes to ground, sometymes both. Yea, sometymes one or both fall from their horses withoutt once toutching either the other att all, only with ayming and bending their bodies with an earnest intent to hitt, butt missing their stroke, the waightt of their armour and poles brings them many tymes to ground, for if they sway butt somwhatt on the one side and bee once going, they can hardly recover themselves, butt downe they Must. The falls they gett, especially beeing thrust downe, are most Churlish [heavy] and seemingly daungerous, sometymes throwne over the horse taile backwards, falling on head and shoulders with such a ratling and Clashing of their heavy armour that one would thincke they had broken their Necks or some of their bones att least. Butt they receave butt little hurt, For their armour is so lyned, buckled and Fastned on to another and their head peeces came down and bore and rested on the other armour on their shoulders thatt, allthough they shold fall on their heads or beetweene head and shoulders

as commonly they did, they tooke Noe greatt hurt, butt beeing soe downe were taken uppe againe, their bever[1] opened thatt they Mightt take breathe and soe holpen on horsebacke againe. This was performed sundry tymes by sundry couples with great labour and earnestnesse of the Actors and às greatt delightt and laughter of the Spectators. They say the towne holds certaine privilidges by performing this Service yearly, which otherwise they shold lose.

The Champions have for their good endeavours in this service a barrill or two of strong beere allowed amongst them with which, their quarrells at an end, then goe these knight errand [errant] to visitt the ladies in the yunkerhoffe, *viz.*, burgers daughters, etts. townesmaides, with whome they dance to the Musick. Every stranger thatt would come in must give aboutt 8d., so is admitted and may stay as long as hee please and drinck as much as hee will, as allsoe dance with the Maides if hee have skill, for the said Mony. This lasteth som houres, which giveth an end to this triumph or mocke turniamentt; howsoever, good plaine Mirth enough.

After all this merriment, a word or 2 in earnest more yet concerning this place and these parts wherin I have live[d] soe long and of which I have writt soe much.

This Citty [Danzig] exceeds (1) in trafficke, (2) plenty, (3) voluptuousnesse, (4) pride, (5) arts.

(1) For trafficke: wittnesse Near 200U000 tonnes of Corne[2], besides other commodities brought yearly downe outt of Poland hither and From hence transported, which hath and doth Merveillously inritche the Inhabitantts.

(2) For Plenty: see their Marketts how they abound with Flesh, Fish, Chace, Wildffoule, Fruits, herbes, rootes, etts., such store, such variety and Soe Cheape as it exceeds all other places that I have yet seene.

(3) Their voluptuousnesse: Manifested in their banketts, Meales, which not only abounds, butt allsoe in their long Sittings, especially att Weddings, which is commonly 5, 6

[1] Mundy is using the obsolete term "beaver" as indicating a visor rather than in the restricted meaning of the lower portion of the faceguard of a helmet.

[2] See *ante*, note 3 on p. 182.

and 7 houres att a dinner[1], their drincking answearable by Men[2]. This within the Citty.

Their Winter and Summer walkes without the Citty by greatt and smalle, to Heiligbrun or Holywell, Suppott, Templeburg etts.[3] [and other] places adjoyning, where the resort is great and expence immoderate, especially in lacksforne (troutts)[4], krebs (kray fish)[5], etts. rarities; not withoutt Musicke, wyne and beare and dancing in every corner.

(4) Their pride: cheifly in their Apparrell, not to bee parallelled, especially by the yonger Sort (and of them the Female Sex) in Costly Furres, Sables, etts., sattins, silkes, ritche stuffes, jewells, chaines, rings of gold and pretious stones on their bodies, Necks, armes and Fingers.

Allsoe their stately buildings, adorned and furnished within with curious and costly household stuffe, paintings, seelings, etts. These with the former may lawfully [be] used with Moderation and commendable, butt here is only Ment the excesse and abuse.

(5) And lastly, For arts and Sciences: their artificiall Clocke tower and Chimes the best I have yett seene[6]; the Fountaine before the Yonkerhoffe[7], Organs and Musicall Instrumentts[8], in which they exceed (Musick not soe generall in use in No part that I know); their buildings and furniture, Curious arts, as painting, Carving, diallyng, with all other Necessarie handicraffs Not wanting. But More especially in one perticuler speculation or observation, whither commendable or No I leave it to censure [adjudication] which is this.

[1] Bargrave, who was present at "a wedding of one of the Burghomaister's daughters" at Danzig in 1652 (*MS. Rawl.* C. 799, fol. 77), says that "Theyr Wedding Dinner usually lasts from Noon till late in the Evening."

[2] Mundy seems to mean that they drank in proportion to the length of the meal.

[3] Heiligenbrunn, a northern suburb of Danzig. Suppot is Zoppot, a watering place on Danzig Bay. Tempelburg is in the hills to the west of Danzig.

[4] Ger. *Lachsforellen*, salmon-trout.

[5] Ger. *Krebse*, cray-fish.

[6] See *ante*, p. 184.

[7] See *ante*, p. 184.

[8] See *ante*, pp. 169, 186.

A metaphisicall discourse.

Nicholas Copernicus, who lived about 100 [years] since, was this Countryman, borne att Thorunia in Prussia, afterward Thumbherr [Ger. Domherr] or Channon in the Church att Frawenburge[1] beetweene Elbing and Brownesberg, did undertake to proove by demonstration and strong reasons (yet not to mainetaine for an absolute truth) that the Sunne stood still, and thatt the earth as a planet with the rest of the plannetts went round about it, making it evidently appear thatt all Astronomicall conclusions are farre sooner and easier to bee broughtt to passe this way then the other, and thatt it stands better with humaine reason. This opinion is butt revived by him, For it was old among the ancientts, butt his countriemen now adaies hold it not only for a supposition butt an undoubted truth, as Linemanus, Euchstadius, Hevelkius[2], etts. Astronomers [and] Mathematicians.

Att my beeing here Herr Joh: Hevelkee above Mentioned sett out a large booke of his owne Making (in folio) concerning the Opticks[3], butt cheiff[ly] whatt hee observed with prospective glasse in the Sunne, Moone and starres, *viz.*, in the ☉ certaine Spotts, which allthough bright, yett of a darker colour, easilie to bee distinguished, and thatt they keepe noe certaine Motion; Thatt aboutt Saturn and Jupiter are other starres or planetts, which regard the said ♄ and ♃ for their center as other planetts do the Sunne, thatt Venus encreases and decreases as the ☾ allthough in another proportion of tyme, and the sight of many other starres in the heavens impossible to bee discerned with humaine eies withoutt helpe of the said truncke spectacles or prospective glasses[4].

[1] Nicolaus Copernicus (Koppernigk, Zepernich), 1473–1543, born at Thorn, canon of Frauenburg Cathedral, 1497.

[2] "Linemanus" is Albert Linemann, born 1603, died at Königsberg in 1653.

"Euchstadius" is L. Eichstadt, 1596–1660.

"Hevelkius" is Johann Hevelius (Hevel, Hovelke), a celebrated German astronomer and mathematician, born at Danzig 28 Jan. 1611, died 28 Jan. 1687.

[3] The title of Hevel's book is *Selenographia sive Lunae descriptio*, etc. It was published at Danzig in 1647.

[4] Trunk-glass, trunk-spectacle, prospective-trunk, were 17th century terms denoting a telescope.

Mappes of the Moone.

And of the ☾ hee hath Made above 30 large mappes, prints, or Copper peeces [plates] of the Manner of every daies encrease and decrease, deciphering in her land and sea, Mountaines, valleies, Ilands, lakes, etts., making it another little world, giving Names to every part, as wee in a mappe of our world. This is allsoe None of his owne Invention, butt noted long Since, butt not brought to effect soe exactly and plaine to demonstration. It was vallued 10 ℔℔[1]: is aboutt 45s. sterling.

Opinions: Eternitie and unmeasurablenesse undeniable, containing tyme and proportions.

Another little booke allsoe was newly sett forth at My beeing there by One Abraham Franckenberge, dedicated to the burgermeisters, etts. lords of the Councell of Dantzigke[2], wherin hee brings Authors to mayneteyne thatt nott only the Moone is another world butt allsoe the starres, and thatt Not only those wee see, butt allsoe infinite others outt off the reach of our sight, and one serving the other wonderfully; as the Moone serves us, soe doeth our world serve thatt for a Moone; thatt the Eather or ayre is unmeasurable and boundlesse and infinite, still standing Sunnes which have lightt in themselves and enlighten others, as allso infinite other darcke bodies enlightned by another, Mooving aboutt another center or turning about their owne. His cheifest allegations are outt of Jordanus Brune, an Italian, who wrote a booke, De Immenso & Innumirabilibus: unmeasurablenesse Innumerablenesse. Itt must bee no small booke for hee

[1] This sign represents Spanish dollars or pieces of eight, worth, as Mundy says, about 4*s*. 2*d*.

[2] Abraham von Franckenberg, 1593–1652, a native of Ludwigsdorff, is noticed in the *Biographie Universelle*. He was a German alchemist who retired to Danzig on account of his disputes with the clergy on questions regarding the Eucharist. At Danzig he was associated with Johann Hevel mentioned above. The work alluded to by Mundy, published *c*. 1644, has not been identified. For a further reference to Franckenberg and his writings and a note on the volume in question, see *infra*, Appendix IV.

quotes Fol. 600 and odde[1]. This is allsoe no New opinion. For itt hath bin mayneteyned off old by the ancientt Philosophers, as Anaximander[2] and others, and cannot bee disprooved by discourse.

A proportion betweene finite and finite but beetweene finite and Infinite No proportion att all.

For let a Man only ratiotinate this one p[roposition]: Thatt as any body, bee it Never soe smalle, by arithmeticke may bee brought to bee a certaine part of any other bodie, bee it Never soe great, as a sand corne to beare a proportion to the globe of the whole earth, Soe on the contrary, No number of bodies, bee they Never soe great, can fill uppe an Infinite Space butt an Infinite number.

Distance diminishes and brings to Nothing.

For any bodie, bee it Never soe bright and greatt, by distance may bee brought to Nothing, as some of the Fixed starres, which by computation are 100 tymes as bigge as the whole earth: yett by their great distance seeme to us Nott much bigger then a pricke or point.

In fine, The Lord God is infinite in Mercy, Wisdome, Power, etts., unto whome Nothing is impossible and whose worckes are past all Mens limitation. Therfore lett us all with admiration say with St. Paul, Rom: xi. ver. 33–34: O the deepnesse of the Ritches: both of the Wisedom and knowledge of God: how unsearchable are his Judgementts and his waies past finding outt[3]; etts: with which etts. [*sic*],

[1] Giordano Bruno, *c.* 1548–1600, an Italian philosopher. The work referred to is *De Monade Numero et Figura liber, Consequens quinque de Minimo Magno & Mensura, Item De Innumerabilibus, Immenso & Infigurabili; seu De Vniverso & Mundis libri octo*, etc. Mundy is right. The 1591 edition of the work contains 655 octavo pages.

[2] Anaximander, Ionian philosopher, disciple and successor of Thales, 610–547 B.C.

[3] Dr Kilgour of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to whom I referred this text, is of opinion that it is taken from the *Great Bible* of 1540–1541, though the spelling is slightly different from that particular edition, where the passage runs: "O the depnes of ye ryches: both of ye Wysedome and knowladge of God: how unsearchable are hys Judgemẽtes ãd his wayes past fynding outt."

an then thus [*sic*], with which I will shutt uppe all further dispute of those Matters and prosecute the purpose and intent of this booke concerning voyages.

Having spentt allmost 7 yeares tyme in this place and to and Fro, much of it much against my will, yett Neverthelesse with an ill will must I leave the place, by reason of the troubles in England which were nót yett stilled[1]. However, occasiones compelled Mee to leave those parts and retire home.

A voiag from Dantzigk to England *viz*:

Dantzigke roade *the* $\frac{28}{18}$ *July Anno* 1647. We came from Dantzigk aboard the shippe *Prophett Daniell* of Lubecke, in the roade.

The 30*th* [*July*]. Wee sett saile from thence, the wind westerly. Wee plyed itt uppe as farre as Reegshoofft [Rixhöft].

The 31 *dicto*. Wee bore uppe for Hela and there anchored: a smalle fisher towne 5 leagues from Dantzigk.

The 1 *August*. Wee sett saile from Hele and plied to wyndward as high as Reegshofft againe.

The 3 *August* 1647. Wee bore uppe once More for Hela by reason it overblew[2].

The 5 *ditto*. Wee sett saile from thence.

The 6 *ditto*. Wee had a faire wynde and came as farre as Borneholme, an Iland.

The 7 *ditto*. The wynde came westerly, soe thatt wee bore roome [large, wide] and came and anchored on the east side of the Iland before a towne called Nex [Nexö]. Here the people came aboard of us in smalle yolles [yawls], with Fish, sheepe, hennes, etts., which made Mee calle to Minde Pulotimoan[3], etts., butt their Jellee Jellees[4] exceeding these yoholls in smallenesse, lighttnesse and Neatnesse.

[1] The Civil War between Charles I and the Parliament broke out in 1642, after Mundy's departure from England, and was still raging when he returned to England in 1647.

[2] "Overblew," blew a gale.

[3] Pulo Tioman, off the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula. See Vol. III, map facing p. 157.

[4] A name for a small boat, a canoe. See Vol. III, p. 320, note 5.

The 9th of August. Wee sett saile from Borneholme with a faire winde, butt at nightt itt proveed [*sic*] contrary againe.

The 10th August. Itt grew calme, wee beeing beetweene the Iland Meeun [Möen] and the land Schone[1], both in sightt.

The 11th ditto. Last nightt the winde beegan to blow westerly, Soe thatt this Morning wee were beetweene Steden and Valsterbaum [Falsterbo], aboutt 2 leagues offe the shore from Steden [Stevns-Klint], that side somwhatt high land and white Chalky cleeves as on the Coast of England, butt Valsterbaum on the other side very low land. Aboutt Noone wee were against Coppenhaven [Copenhagen, Dan. Kjøbenhavn].

Floting castles.

Aboutt a Mile from the shore there by, wee saw 2 Floating Castles of the King of Denmarcks, which hee caused to bee made to prevent the passage in and out through the Sound in the last Invasion of the Swedes; butt they hindred not the Hollanders, who came through perforce and Joyned with the Swede against him Anno 164[3][2]. Over on the other side wee saw the land of Shone[1] all alongst and divers townes, as Mallmuyen [Malmö], etts.

Uraniburgum [Uranienborg], the habitation of Ticho Brache [Tycho Brahe] on Huena [Hven, Hveen].

Aboutt 3 or 4 of the Clocke wee came Near Wee-en [Hven], a little pretty Iland, called by some of us English, Scarlett Iland[3], aboutt a Mile in length. The late famous Astro-[no]mer Ticho Brache had heere his residence, butt for his

[1] By Schone and Shone (*infra*), Mundy clearly means the Southern District of Sweden, now known as Malmohus.

[2] During the Thirty Years' War, there was a contest in 1643–1645 between Denmark and Sweden, after many years of peace.

[3] The name Scarlet Island, applied to Hven by foreigners in the 16th and 17th centuries probably arose from the story related by Fynes Moryson (I. 127) who was in Denmark in 1593: "The Danes thinke this Iland Wheen to be of such importance, as they have an idle fable, that a King of England should offer for the possession of it, as much scarlet cloth as would cover the same with a Rose-noble at the corner of each cloth." Dr Dreyer (*Tycho Brahe*, p. 89 and note) says that Tycho Brahe himself mentions the name Insula Scarlatina as applied to the island. Dr Dreyer further states that the story given by Moryson also occurs in P. D. Huetii *Commentarius de Rebus ad eum pertinentibus*, pub. 1718.

Judiciall Astrologie was banished by the king[1]. That evening wee anchored before Elsenore [Helsingör] or the Sound.

The 12th of August 1647. Wee rode still and cleared our shippe.

The 13th [*August*]. Wee sett saile beetymes. In the Morning wee were thwart of old Cole and new Col [Kulla][2], 2 head lands, the one lying 2 or 3 leagues withoutt the other. Att old Colle, the hithermost, all strangers thatt com by itt and Never saw it before must pay Somthing to bee spentt in wyne or beere, etts., as they please[3].

Wee came outt of the Sound with Many other shippes, wherof 5 of our Consort shipps, *viz.*, the [blank], Master Bromwell[4], English, and a smale Yarmouth Man, a Swedish shippe, one ½ English, ½ Danes, and ourselves, a Lubecker, ours beeing the best sayler amongst them: a great comffort at Sea.

The 14th August. Wee plied to and Fro and had sightt of the Coast of Norway[5].

The 15th [*August*]. Wee came Near the Iland Anout [Anholt] and thatt nightt past by it.

The 16th [*August*]. Aboutt Noone Near the Iland Lesou [Lœsö], and thatt evening Near Schagen [Skagen].

The 17th [*August*]. Last nightt and to day beecalmed soe

[1] Tycho Brahe, 1546–1601, the celebrated Danish astronomer, received the gift of the island Hven in the Sound from Frederick II of Denmark in 1576, and established there the observatory of Uranienborg. He fell out with Christian IV and left Hven in 1597, and after wandering about Germany, died at Prague in 1601. See Wunderer's remarks (pp. 174–175) on Uranienborg Castle and its contents. Speed, *op. cit.*, p. 30, says that Tycho Brahe was "memorable for his artificiall Towre on the Ile of Fimera." See also Moryson's description (I. 125) of the "Iland Wheen" and his remarks on "Tugo Brahe." Mr Letts tells me that the Bodleian possesses a copy of Tycho Brahe's *Astronomiæ instauratæ mechanica* printed at his press there, which contains an interesting illustration of the observatory at Uranienborg. See *Bod. Quarterly Record*, 1919, Vol. II, No. 22, p. 238.

[2] See *ante*, p. 84 note 2. In Speed's map of "The Kingdome of Denmarke" (between pp. 29 and 30 of his *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*) "Col" is marked on the Swedish coast, on the N.E. extremity of the "Sont."

[3] This is paying for their footing.

[4] I have failed to identify this individual.

[5] Lieut.-Comr. G. T. Temple observes that from this position the coast referred to must have been Sweden, not Norway.

thatt this evening allsoe wee were by Schagen. Then came a gale attt S E [b] E. Wee saw to day a kind of fish Swymming on the water called Mizens[1], which Made mee remember another Sort called Caravells[2] which wee somtymes see in the Ocean, these beeing good to eate. To night the wind Westerly again.

The 18th ditto. Wee were Near the Coast of Norway to the westward of Oxffort, Mardo[3], etts., ragged land and somwhatt high. Att evening the wind came faire againe.

A strange Manner of Fishing.

The 19th [August]. Itt prooving calme, they beeing on the bancke or riffe [reef] of Schagen, they wentt to fish for Coddalau[4] or [blank] after a way I saw not. Yett they have a peece of lead cast in the forme of a herring on the stemme of a double hooke, which beeing let downe to the bottome, they sodainely and violently snatche uppe againe. This they do continually, letting downe and snatching uppe, not thatt the fish doth then bite, butt itt seemes the living fish comming about the Counterfaict herring are hitched or hooked on the outtside in head, backe, belly or taile[5]; butt wee then caught None of them, only pretty store of Mackrell since wee came into the North Sea, which are commonly caught in a gale of wynde when the shippe or boate hath fresh waie. Soe

[1] In the margin Mundy has a small sketch resembling a four-pointed starfish. Dr F. A. Bather, to whom I referred Mundy's description, writes as follows: "A Caravel, as is well known, was another term for what is popularly called the 'Portuguese man-of-war,' a large colonial form of jelly-fish known as *Physalia*. It seems probable therefore that the "Mizens" were a form of jelly-fish, especially as the jelly-fish have four-rayed symmetry, and the markings which bring this out are almost all that is seen as the creature floats along in the water. Such jelly-fish are quite common along the S.W. coast of Sweden." Dr Bather adds that Mundy's "Mizens" could hardly do more than furnish a salt soup, and he notes that this creature swimming on the water is not what we should now-a-days call a "fish."

[2] For Caravel, carvel, see Vol. III, p. 27 note.

[3] Of these places Lieut.-Comr. G. T. Temple remarks: "'Oxffort' is probably Oxefiord, the entrance to Tredestrand, a small trading town about 10 miles N.E. of Arendal. I cannot identify 'Mardo'; the text is too vague."

[4] Ger. *Kabeljau*, cod.

[5] Mundy is describing one of the many methods of sea-angling. An artificial eel is also used to catch pollack and other fish.

that Severall sorts of fish require severall sorts of fishing, as allsoe places and seasons.

The 21th [*August*]. Since the 19th variable windes and weather; to day much wind and a great sea against us, beeing on Dubbers bancke[1].

The 22th [*August*]. Wee sailed our rightt course SW by S, etts., faire wind and weather againe, butt no More Missens.

The 23d [*August*]. Wee saw a couple of herring busses[2] bound Eastward.

The 24th [*August*]. Wee mett sundry shippes, *viz.*, 2 handsom well apointed Scottish shippes and a Hollander. Aboutt 3 of the clocke in the afternoone wee were Nere the point of a sand[3] soe thatt beeing Not able to wether itt, wee tackt aboutt 2 or 3 glasses [hours] and then stood on againe. The Yarmouth Man left us and steared towards his port and in his stead came a Dane into our company bound For London. Hee belongued to Some of Norway[4] and by Seamen called a Norman[5]. Wee were somwhatt entangled among the shoalds soe thatt wee made divers boards[6] before wee could bee clear of them. This Night wee were fr[? ee].

The 25tt [*August*]. This Morning wee sailed along the shoare, Faire wind and weather; many Fine townes all along in sightt, as North Yarmouth, Listoffe [Lowestoft], Sollhaven [Southwold][7], Dunwyche, Albrough [Aldeburgh]. By Albrough was a faire beacon on the strand. Wee sailed close by itt and saw the Castle of Harwyche[8] a Farre offe.

[1] Apparently the Dogger Bank is meant, but I have found no other instance of Mundy's designation for it.

[2] Two-masted or three-masted vessels of various sizes, used especially in the Dutch herring fishery.

[3] Lieut.-Comr. G. T. Temple writes that this "point" is too vague to be identified.

[4] "Some of Norway," probably Soon on the east side of Christiania Fjord.

[5] The term Norman, for a Northman, a Norwegian, was in general use in Mundy's day. It is now obsolete.

[6] "Wee made divers boards," *i.e.* We tacked several times. It is unusual to find "board" in this sense used as a noun. "We boarded several times" would be the usual form.

[7] Compare Defoe, I. 55, 71, who speaks of herrings caught at "Leostof" and of "The Bay called corruptly Sowl or Sole-Bay (*i.e.* Southwold)."

[8] The original Landguard Fort, built in the reign of James I, was demolished in the reign of Chas. II, but fortifications were subsequently erected on its site and still exist under that name. See Defoe, I. 26.

A faire shore: A dangerous Coast.

Hardly a sea shore to bee seene better stored with townes, trees, tillage, etts., and pleasanter to looke on then was this From Yarmouth to Albrough, butt on the other side [hand] not a More dangerous coast For shoalds, bancks, etts., passing by many boies, beacons, wracks of shipps, etts. Wee anchored to Nightt a little above Lee[1].

The 26th of August 1647. Wee came a little shortt of Gravesend and anchored there by reason of Contrary windes.

The 27th [*August*]. Wee came to Gravesend where wee tooke boate For London and landed att Billingsgate, I beeing then Just 50 years of age[2]. Here wee found a greatt and strange Alteration in Citty and Country, in the Religion, government, Customes, conditiones and affections of the people of whatt it was when I last left these parts (being Near 7 yeares), The perticuler proceeding and occasion of all these confusions I am not able to Judge off, so leave it to wiser heads and proceed yett a little further to Make an end of this voyage.

The 5tt of October. Wee went From London and thatt Morning came to Gravesend, From whence our shippe, the *Morning Starre*[3], was departed 3 or 4 houres before wee arrived, soe hired a barge to follow and overtake her, which was not till the Next Morning thatt wee found her att Anchor in the Downes, where wee went aboard.

The 15th ditto. Wee sett saile From the Downes.

The 16th [*October*] *att nightt*. Wee arrived in Plimouth Sound.

The 17th [*October*]. Wee came into Catte Water [Catwater]. Here wee saw tokens of our Civill Warres, as in some places New Fortiffications and in other Ruines off houses, etts.[4]

The 18th [*October*]. Wee sett saile in a smalle barcke.

[1] Leigh, at the mouth of the Thames, just below Canvey Island.

[2] This is an important statement, as it shows that Mundy was born in 1597.

[3] I have failed to find any trace of this vessel.

[4] Plymouth was in the hands of the Parliamentarians during the whole of the Civil War, and though closely invested by the Royalists, was never taken by them.

The 19th of October. In the Morning wee arrived in the harbour of Falmouth once againe, here making an end of a Most tedious, troublesome, Crosse and Costly voyage, and amongst all the rest the worst of the Many in this booke. Gods name bee praised For our saffe arrivall and Send an end to these generall troubles into which I am now come, as allsoe to my owne perticuler, and give us all grace to better our lives and then No question butt hee will blesse us the better For it.

From my last departure hence, beeing the 19th June 1639, untill my arrivall here againe on the 19th October 1647 is the tyme of 8 yeares and 4 Monthes Just.

From Dantzigk to London and downe to Fallmouth as I gather by Mappes in this booke is about the Some of Miles 1U410.

From Anno 1611, my First comming abroad[1], untill Anno 1647, this my last comming home, is 36 yeares, etts., in which tyme I have travelled and sailed in Sundry Journeies, voyages, Imployments, and voluntary, the some of 100U833⅝ English miles, through Sundrie Climates, Countries, Kingdomes, Seas, Ilands, etts., subject to 1Uooo dangers, From which the Mercy of God hath preserved mee and saffely brought mee home, whose Glorious name bee blessed and praised For ever. Amen.

[1] See Vol. 1, p. 13.

[THE APPENDIX] II[1]

In the Relation xxvi, Folio 148[2], Mention is made of a voyage intended round aboutt the world and thatt one going E. and another W., the first shold gett one day and the last should loose a Day. Chuse the following Instrument with its Derection[3].

An Instrument cheifely to Demonstrate thatt one Man going Eastward till hee come round aboutt the world shall loose a whole Day and a nightt of 24 houres, and contrarywise another thatt travells Westward shall gett as much, to a third Man thatt keepes one Station; Soe thatt when they come together they shall have 3 severall Daies, all uppon one Day: to bee experimented best under the Eaquinoctial[4].

* * * * *

An example for prooffe of the former proposall.

Lett there bee 3 men distinguished by A, B, C. Lett A bee a Christian, B a Turcke, and C a Jew, Suppose these 3 men dweltt on the Iland of Sumatra, where wee were severall tymes in our China voyage[5], the Eaquinoctiall crossing it Near about the Middl[e].

A and B intend to travell: A Eastward, B Westward, and C remaines beehind. They beegin to sett forth the first of January att Noone, beeing Wednesday. You must allsoe admitt that they Journey and saile by sea and land 1 degree or 60 miles every 24 houres. Soe that the 2d of January att Noone A will bee 60 miles to the Eastward of C, and B will bee 60 miles to the Westward. Soe thatt, according to the former rule, A will have 4 Minutts past Noone and B will want soe much. When C hath just Noone here, allready hath A gotten 4 Minutts and B lost the like. Againe, More playnely, each of them hath traveilled 15

[1] For Mundy's First Appendix, consisting of notes on his China Voyage, see Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 424–428.

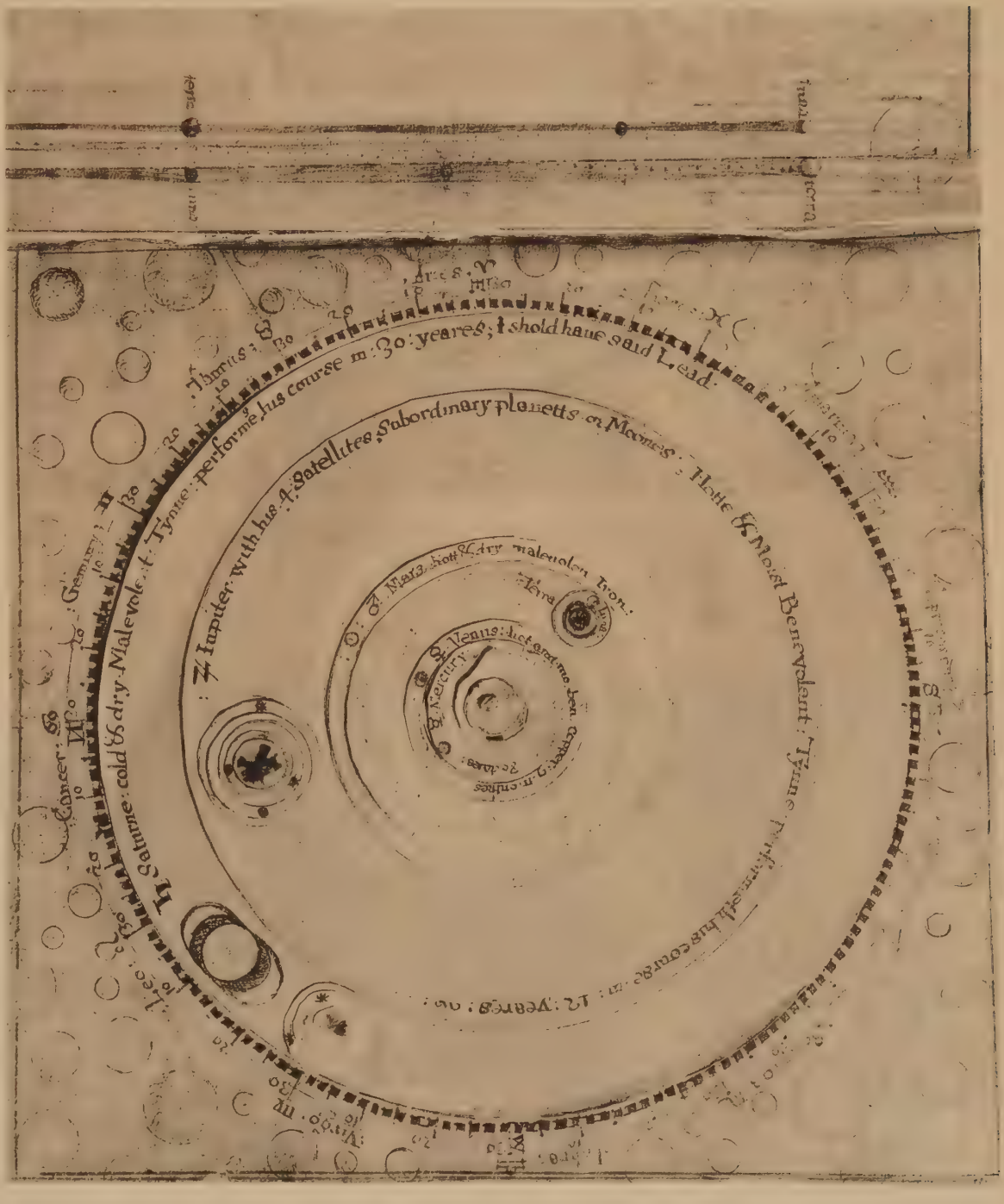
Appendix II consists of a long description of the "Instrument" depicted in Plate XII, illustration No. 13. It has been considered unnecessary to print the whole of it.

[2] See Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 290–292.

[3] Mundy has a marginal note here: "See the Instrument in Folio 214." He is referring to Plate XII, illustration No. 13.

[4] Here follows a long explanation of the "severall Parts of the said Instrument."

[5] See Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 116–137, Pt. II, pp. 329–338.


♄ Saturne: cold & dry. Malevolent: Tyme: performe his course in 30: yeares; I shold haue said Lead:
♃ Iupiter with his 4: Satellites, Subordinary planetts or Moones: Hotte & Moist Benevolent: Iuno:
♂ Mars, hott & dry malevolen Iron:
☉ Sol
♀ Venus: hot and moe ben
☿ Mercury
Terra
12: Yeares: one:

No. 13. An Instrument or Spheare.

daies, is 15 degrees, *viz.*, A Eastward and B Westward. And you shall finde when you turne the 2 rundles [circles] with the 2 letters A and B (which you may gently doe with a couple of pynnes or Needles), and placing the ⊙ in the Zenith at C, that when the said C hath Noone, then will A have 1 clocke afternoone and B in the forenoone (Afternoone [*sic*]), I say forenoone, soe thatt in 15 daies A hath gotten 1 houre; thatt Whereas C hath just 15 daies, A hath 15 daies and 1 houre and B wants 1 houre of 15 daies all att one instantt, each of them 900 miles distant from C, and A and B 1,800 Miles. Then is A near the Molluccaes which yeilds Nuttmeggs, Mace and Cloves; B will bee Near the Iland Zeiloan, where is the best Cinamon; whiles C is on Sumatra that affoards good pepper[1].

* * * * *

Lastly, A and B come to meete againe with C, having gon 45 degrees farther, in all 360 degrees each, soe thatt C had just 360 daies, beeing Saterday the Jewish Sabbaoth. A, the Christian, by the aforesaid triall, had gotten by little and little 24 houres, is 1 day, is 361 day, which is Sonday, the Christians Sabbaoth; and B, the Turcke, loosing 24 houres, will have butt 359 daies, and itt must bee Friday, which the Mahometanes hold for their sabbaoth. Soe thatt these 3, A the Christian, B the Turcke, C the Jew, will keepe holy daye together all uppon one day, allthough they fall on 3 severall dayes, *viz.*, Friday, Saterday and Sonday, to fall uppon one day. This is true, for every Man kept his reckoning right[2].

* * * * *

[1] Here follow further demonstrations of the same kind.
[2] Here follow further explanations and conclusions of the same nature.

THE APPENDIX III

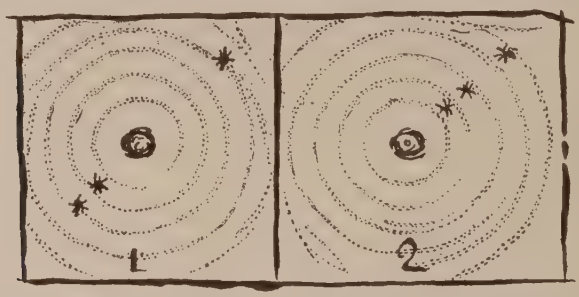
CONCERNING THE PARADOX OF THE EARTHES MOTION[1].

In my foregoing Journall, fol. 207[2], I mentioned an opinion of the Auntients, now lately revived and mayneteyned for an absolute truth, that the sunne and the firmament stand still, And that the earth with the rest of the Planetts goe round about the ☉ as a center to them all. I named some now living that dwell in Dantzigk, etts. in Prussia. For others, read the following lynes collected out of Democritus Junio[r] or Burtons *Melancholy* as followeth[3].

* * * * *

Jupiter, with his 4 satellites or moons or subordinary planetts.

The 6th Orbe hathe planett Jupiter with his garde, or satellites as they call them, beeing 4 starres which keepe Near him and



[1] This Appendix has been submitted to various astronomical experts, including Dr J. L. E. Dreyer, the great authority on mediaeval astronomy, who writes: "This MS. (Appendix to Peter Mundy's Travels) does not seem to me to be worth printing. It is a confused medley of notes taken from various popular books of the 17th century, and opinions are freely attributed to various great astronomers which they had never set forth. There is not a single original idea, nor anything showing that the author had made any special study of astronomy. Many of the names are badly mis-spelt."

In view of the above opinion, the editor has not thought it right to print this long Appendix (some 20 pages) except as to the points which are illustrated by Mundy's own hand.

[2] See *ante*, Relation xxxv, p. 216.

[3] The extracts from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* have not been printed for the reasons given above.

regard him as their center, the outermost about 15 minut distant, the nearest aboutt 4 minutts, the 2 about 10 minutts, the diameter or breadth of the ☾ accompted 30 minutts. I my selfe saw 3 of them divers tymes the 8th March 1648[1], as No. 1, and the 9th dicto as No. 2, at 9 clocke at Night, about 45 degrees high Eastward: this by my Judgement, which is not much to bee relyed on in these speculationes, but those who desire more exact information, let him peruse professed authors where hee may find more satisfaction.

* * * * *

Conclusion.

To conclude this dispute. If the Motion of the earth be thought absurd, how much greater will the absurdity bee to conceave that those Numberlesse vast bodies of such an unmeasurable distance should performe such incredible courses, especially if they will butt consider the motion of the first Moveable that Mooveth all the Rest, which must exceed in a greater Measure all the rest. Herein let every Man resolve as his fancy leads him.

Penrin 9th November 1651

Somewhat to fill uppe this wast side out of
Vincent Wing his Almanacke 1651.

[Author's note]: I conceave Mr Wing was not long of this mind, for in his almanacke 1648, hee was of another opinion[2].

[1] Mundy was probably at Penryn at this date.

[2] Vincent Wing, astrologer, 1619–1668. His work, published in 1651, was entitled *Harmonicum Coeleste*. His Almanac for 1648/9 has a very long title, the main part of which is as follows:

"A Dreadfull Prognostication, or An Astrologicall Prediction of severall Contingences incident to all Europe, drawn from the effects of severall Celestiall Configurations....Likewise Astrologicall observations...with Misterious Predictions for every moneth in this year 1649. By Vincent Wing, Practitioner in the art Mathematicall: and approved of by the best Astrologers."

After a page or so of extracts from Wing's works, Mundy adds: "I was faine to abreviate for lacke of roome."

THE APPENDIX IIII[1]

OF THE SPOTTES IN THE MOONE, THE PROPORTION OF FLIES, WORMES, ETS.

Of the spottes in the Moone as of those in a flies eye, etts.

In this foregoing Journall, folio 207, I mentioned one Signor Johannes Helvelkee who composed a booke intituled Silenigraphia, Printed in Danzig, Anno 1647, treating chiefly of the moone[2]. This much I may say, having my selfe made triall with a Tellescope, none of the best, allso my owne sight somwhat impaired, that the generall parts represent themselves according to the figures, but to perticulerize punctually as in the said booke is to bee seene, or any way to com Near it, passeth my abillity.

The whiter part of the ☾ is variously marbled, mingled or diapred with darcke and white, and the darcker part again curdled with white and darcke spotts. Only thus much is to bee noted: in the Chord, segment or place where the light of the sunne ends att the increase or decrease of the ☾, the darker part maketh almost a smooth lyne, therefore supposed to bee Water, and contrarily the whiter part to bee land, because it appears very cragged and uneven. Moreover, there are many perfitt circular round spotts, which in my opinion ar concave or hollow like great deepe vallies, for that side which is toward the ☉ is shadowed, and the opposite inlightned. When the ☾ is full they are all inlightned and not soe easy to bee perceaved. Thus it is at the encrease and decrease, the shadowed side of the round spott towards the sunne, as you may perceave by the severall figures[3].

* * * * *

For more ample satisfaction in this perticuler I referre you to the aforementioned booke, as concerning allsoe the New found starres about Jupeter, etts., the increasing and decreasing of Venus and other matters to such like purpose, see the said booke Sileni-

[1] This short Appendix is printed with only one omission because it is illustrated by Mundy's own hand and also because his remarks on the eye of a fly exemplify his accuracy of observation.

[2] See *ante*, Relation xxxv, p. 216.

[3] See Plate XIII, illustration No. 14 and Plate XIV, illustration No. 15. The portion of the text omitted contains Mundy's remarks on the diameter of the moon, its possible inhabitants, &c.

No. 14. [Phases of] the Moone: Fulmoone; the last quarter.

graphia, and Occuli Sideralis in Latin and Dutch by Abraham Frankenberg, both of them lately set forth on [*sic*] print about Anno 1644[1].

Concerning Flies and Wormes.

As wee have somwhat considered of those great high and Nobles [*sic*] creatures, Soe let us not forgett the small, low and contemptibles, as flies, mites, wormes in the hands or smaller, if smaller may bee. And consider allsoe whither wee have not cause to admire the worcke of Nature, Gods handmaid, in them. This is don with another sort of Tellescope or prospective glasse, termed [microscope].

The head and eye of a Fly: see the Figure[2].

And first of the head of a fly. It is somwhat Near the forme and bignesse set downe, No. a. It hath a trunck like an Elephant, at the end of which are certaine prickles with which it seemes hee pierceth and sucketh out his Nourishement. The 2 halfe round balles that bear out on both sides are questionlesse his eies, each of which conteyning above one thousand other smalle eyes, *viz.*, the ground of the balle is browne, which is full of little circles of an whitish coullour. In each of those white rings a little blacke spotte or point, and if it bee dilligently observed in the [circle][3] there is another white point within the blacke againe thus[3], but the greatest wonder is their orderly placing in rancks with such a proportionable distance that one may see the rancks and spaces sundry manner of waies, as sometymes wee see trees orderly planted in a garden in rancks and files. Now the whole head of

[1] See *ante*, Relation xxxv, p. 217. I am indebted to Mr F. D. Sladen, Superintendent of the Reading Room, British Museum, for the identification of Franckenberg's work. There is no copy in the British Museum Library but Mr Sladen tells me that both Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon* and Zeder's *Universal Lexicon* give among Abraham von Franckenberg's works one entitled *Oculus sidereus* and both authorities state that it was written in German. Mr Sladen thinks that there is no doubt that this is the work referred to by Mundy, whose statement that it was written in Latin and Dutch can be easily explained—the Latin by the fact that the title is in that language and the Dutch from the similarity of this word with *deutsch*, German.

Mrs Maunder of the Royal Astronomical Society, who also endeavoured to trace Franckenberg's work for me, points out that the book bears a striking resemblance in title to a rare volume by Schyrleus de Rheita published at Antwerp in 1645, the beginning of the very long title being *Oculus Enoch et Eliæ, sive Radius sidereomysticus*, but there is apparently no connection between the two.

[2] See Plate XIV, illustration No. 16.

[3] At these points Mundy has drawn small circles.

the flye is not soe bigge as a hempe seede: yet doth the glasse make it appear bigger then a hens egge, not at once, but by peecemeale; yet shall a very cunning painter have much to doe to bring or draw the said smalle circles, etts., which are in the little eye on that great space. How then is it possible for the art of man to performe it on the side of a hempseede.

Flies breed yong under their bellies.

I saw allsoe on the belly of a smalle ordinary fly Near 100 smalle things like nitts (som of them had forme and life), clyming uppe the haires that were on the flies belly. These had perfitt parts, as head, mouth, eies, legges, Joints, clawes, Sence, will, etts.—all orderly disposed in due proportion of Number, Measure, etts. The whole fabricke or body with all his parts even insencieble to the sharpest sight, which with the glasse it was as bigge as a mustard seed, soe that you may easily discerne the head, legges, body, etts. [and other] parts of it. This is as Impossible as the other to bee deciphered in its true Magnitude by humaine art, only by Imagination, which may conceade a point which is Immateriall.

The bignesse of the head of the flye as it is visible to our sight is as at letter a, but as it appeareth in the glasse is represented by the great figure and the smalle circle etts. as att letter b.

Proportion of the smallest wormes and creatures.

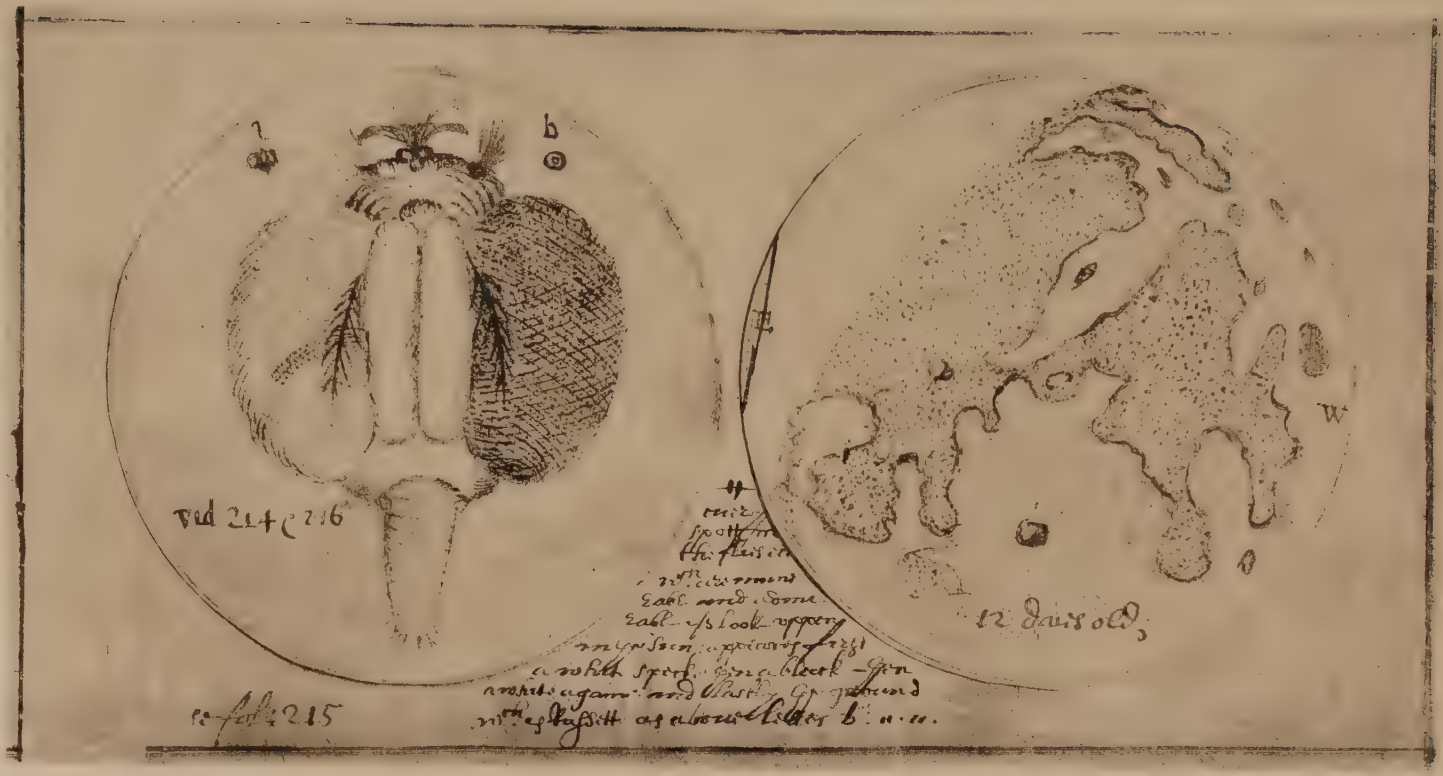
The worme in Mens hands, called in Spanish Arador[1], or a plower, is of the forme as is there set[2], Neare as bigge as a wheate corne. It hath on each side of the body beehind a little stumpe, and in each a couple of smalle long haires which hee waveth to and fro, the stumps having a Jointe that mooveth the said sprigges all manner of waies. [Author's marginal note.] A mistake: the worme was on her backe and the stumpes were her leggs.

A mite which wee find in cheese is in forme and bignesse somwhat like the other. On the backs of these are sundry long spiery haires to bee seene[3].

[1] Sp. *arador*, a ploughman, with secondary meaning, hand-worm, flesh-worm, ring-worm.

[2] There is no illustration in the MS.

[3] Mundy's remarks as above were submitted to the Natural History Museum and Dr Bather writes: "The account of the fly's eye seems exact as far as it goes. The 'nitts' of the fly were probably some Gamasid mite. 'The worme in Mens hands' is very likely the itch-mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*. The only difficulty in this ascription is the alleged size, since *Sarcoptes* is only just visible to the naked eye. Perhaps Mundy means that it is 'neare as bigge as a wheate corne' when seen under the microscope."



No. 16. The head and eye of a Fly.

No. 15. The Moone 12 daies old.

THE APPENDIX V

OF THE RINGING OF BELLS IN CHANGES OR VARYING OF NUMBERS.

Ringing in changes: no where out of England.

At my now last beeing in London, I overslipt to Mention somwhat of the sweet Ringing of our tuneable bells, especially in changes which [in] my opinion deserves notice, first, for the Art therein to bee observed, (2) their melody, and (3) the singularity of it. Not the like, nor nothing Near, to bee heard in the whole World beeside. And leaving dispute whither and how farre bells bee necessary to churches, I will only for exercise and recreation set downe as well as I can somwhat concerning the said changes, beeing grounded on Number, Measure and tyme, as all other Musicke is, *viz*:

The manner to find them out or Compose the Changes[1].

[Here follows a long note which is not printed here in full, as it is an incorrect attempt to ascertain, by an elaborate and laborious empirical computation, the changes, *i.e.* the permutations and combinations, possible with a number of bells in a chime of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 up to 12 bells[2]. Mundy then goes on to compute "the number of Bookes and Roome required to conteine all the Changes arising from 4 bells or 4 numbers twice doubled [*i.e.*, 24 bells] or of the 24 letters of the Alphabett." Supposing the books to be of uniform size, containing 500 leaves, and 120 changes to be written on each leaf, he arrives at the conclusion that about 3 trillion (3 and 18 ciphers) books would be required. He then computes, assuming the books to be 15 × 10 inches, that their combined leaves would fill 439 trillion (439 and 18 ciphers) square inches. This sets him computing the number of square inches on the Earth's surface (apparently at sea level), which he finds to be about 600,000 trillion (18 ciphers). Finally, he arrives at the triumphant conclusion that the changes on 24 bells, if set

[1] Mr Bernard P. Scattergood kindly submitted this Appendix to a friend who is an authority on change-ringing. He informs me that his friend is of opinion that the Appendix is not worth printing in full, since it consists merely of calculations and not methods of ringing.

[2] See Plate XV, illustration No. 17 for a diagram showing Mundy's method as explained in his text.

out in full, would cover 754 worlds all over. Further, if the books were piled one on the other they would form a covering for the whole of one world, "imagined to bee dry land," 188½ feet thick.

The rest of Mundy's Appendix V is worth printing in full, if only for its quaintness.]

Another way to find out the changes of 3, 4 or 5 bells.
This last way mightt bee left outt beeing trouble some.

Yet a word more concerning the changes of 3, 4, or 5 bells without the said rule. First make a shift to find the ½ of them. Then against them you must sett the figures backeward as against 1, 2, 3, 4, set 4, 3, 2, 1, etts. When you have found them all, you may chuse and place them as you please, As all the ones or twoes or threes to goe together before, or to follow one the other, the first number to begin with one, the 2d with 2, and soe 3, etts., or either to goe forward or backeward as the treble doth on the example.

In Conclusion, some one or other may say: "What of all this? To what purpose is it?" I answear againe as before. I have said, "somwhat to exercise and recreat the Mynde," and if hee have No More to doe then when I did this, I wish hee wold take the paines to calculate where I have don right or noe, for perhappes there may bee an error. [Author's marginal note.] There is an error indeed and a great one: examine.

Soe much I say as onely a lover of knowledge, arts and Sciences That

Scientia non habett Inimicum nisi Ignorantiam.

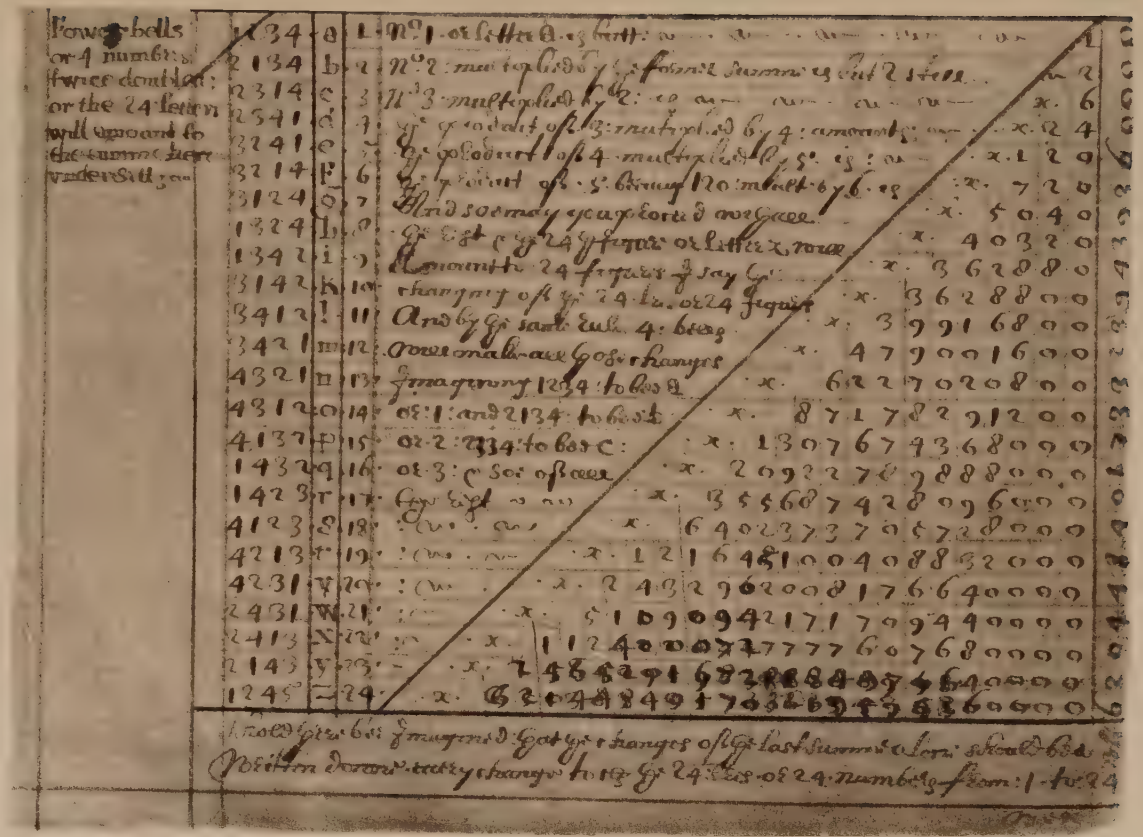
And againe with Chamberlaine concerning this pertituler [*sic*] and the Rest of the booke, that allthough therein bee noe matter of great consequence conteined, I say[1]:

If thou with Momus love to Carpe,
Or Zoilus like to pine
Either doe something of thine owne,
Or elce not carpe at myne.

[1] Mr Edward Bensly informs me that these lines are based on an epigram of Martial (1. 91):

Cum tua non edas, carpis mea carmina, Laeli.
Carpere vel noli nostra vel ede tua.

The "Chamberlaine" referred to would seem to be Robert Chamberlain who flourished 1640–1660, but I have failed to trace the lines in any of his works to be found in the Library of the British Museum.



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INDEX

Abergavenny, xxviii, 14, 15
Abergayny. *See* Abergavenny
Abingdon, 29; cross at, 29 n. 2
Achin, Sumatra, 159 n. 2
Achterburgwall, the, at Amsterdam, 78 n. 1
Acrobats. *See* Tumblers
Actors, at Danzig, 181–2; in Germany, xli; English, at Königsberg, 182 n. 1
Adebär, Ger., a crane, stork, 202 n. 4
Afghanistan, 136 n. 6
Agra, 188 n. 2
Ahrenburg, 114 n. 4
Aldeburgh, 223, 224
All Saints' Church, Bristol, 10 n. 1
All Souls' Chapel, Oxford, 26 n. 4
Alle, river, 93 n. 2
Allex, the, ship, 54 n. 1
Altnoe. *See* Altona
Altona, xxxvi, 120, 161; historical sketch of, 121 n. 1
Altstadt, Bremen, 159 n. 6, 160 n. 3
Altstadt, Hamburg, 115 n. 1
Altstadt, Königsberg proper, 90 n. 2
Altyn, Russian coin, 147 n. 1
Amber, xxxv; account of, near Danzig, 107; discussed, 108; monopoly of collecting, at Danzig, 108 n. 1; monopoly of Teutonic Knights, 108 n. 1
Amber Courts, 108 n. 1
Amber Oath, 108 n. 1
Ameland, in the Zuider Zee, 82
Amelie, the, Dutch Admiral's ship at the Battle of the Downs, xxix, 39
Amesbury, 49
Amo, a jester, ? Cupid, 182 n. 1
Amsterdam, xxxi, 82, 89, 111, 115, 165, 199 n. 1, 200; described, 64–81; population, 67; death-rate, 167 n. 3; burials at, 67–8; chimes, 68; churches, 68–9; church organs, 68; Jews in, 70; synagogues, 70 n. 1; painters, 70; streets, 70; houses on piles, 66–7; canals, 69 n. 3; water-supply, 66; shipping and traffic, 71; trade, 72; the old Exchange, 73 n. 1; hospitals, 73 n. 2; prisons, 73–4; clock-towers, 74; music and entertainment houses, 76–7; the Great Tun, 78; distance of, from Thorn, 100 n. 3; compared with Danzig, 167 n. 3
Amy, the, ship, 54 n. 1
Anatomical Theatre, Oxford, 26 n. 3
Anatomy of Melancholy, Burton's, quoted by Mundy, 228
Anaximander, Greek Philosopher, xlv, 218 n. 1
Anchor, on tower of Glückstadt Church, 120, 121 n. 1
Angelica, plant, 148 n. 3
Angelus bell, in Danzig Pfarrkirche, 169 n. 3
Anholt, Anout, Island, 221
Ann Royall, ship, xi
Antonides, Johannes, keeper of a Music-house at Amsterdam, 77 n. 2
Aor, Pulo, 137 n. 1
Apotheker, pharmacist, at Danzig, position of, 176 n. 3
Aquavity, *aqua vitæ*, 109
Arador, Sp., ring-worm, 232 n. 1
Archangel, xxxv, xxxvii, xxxviii–xxxix, 135–6, 135 nn. 1 and 5, 150 n. 6, 166; trading season in, 148; harbour, 135, 148; British cemetery at, 149; reckoning time in, 151; windmills at, 151; Gulf of, 133 n. 3, 135 n. 1; voyage to, from Altona, 121–53
Archangelica. *See Angelica*, 148 n. 3
Armell Crooe, Aermel Krug, Sleeve Inn, xxxv, 102 n. 3
Arsenal, at Amsterdam, 71 n. 1; at Danzig, described, xli, 170–2, 211 n. 1; at Venice, 171 n. 1; at Warsaw, xliv, 204
Arthur, as a place-name in Wales, explained, 18
Arthur Stone, the, 18
Artillery Company, The Honourable, 48 n. 1, 178 n. 4
Artillery Garden, the, in London, 48 n. 1
Artushof, King Arthur's Court, at Danzig, 179 n. 2, 180 n. 2
Arundel, Thomas Howard 2nd Earl of, collections of, in the Strand, London, 46 n. 1; "Father of vertu in England," 46 n. 1

Ass, riding the, a military punishment, 172 n. 2; the Danzig, 172 n. 2
Astronomy, Mundy's notes on, 216–18, 228–9, 230
Augsburg Confession, the, 85 n. 2
Avon, river, at Tewkesbury, 22 n. 2

Bagpipes, in the great organ in the Pfarrkirche at Danzig, 186 nn. 2 and 4
Bagshot, 181
Bagshot Heath, 181 n. 2
Balch, H. E. and Miss, notes of, on Glastonbury, Wells and Bath, 6 n. 1
Baltic Sea, 89 n. 1
Ban-uwch Denni. *See* Monuch Denny, 18
Banns, publication of, at Danzig, 191 n. 4
Baptista, Joannes, a monstrosity, 189 n. 1. *See* Colloreto, Lazarus
Barck-hen, Ger. *Birkhenne*, fem. of *Birkhuhn*, black-cock, 107 n. 1
Barckway, Barkway, Herts, 34
Barnacle, Bernicle Goose, the, xxvii, 51 n. 1
Barnstaple, xxvii, 2
Barnwell, Cambridgeshire, Stourbridge Fair held at, 32 n. 3
Barrique, a French measure of 61 gallons, 78 n. 1
Bartholinus, Thomas, his description of Lazarus Colloreto, 189 n. 1
Barytone, a musical instrument, xxxv, 104 n. 3; described, 104–5
Basingstoke, 181 n. 2
Basingstone, the, 181 n. 2
Basques, the, 144; a custom of, on St John's Eve, 86 n. 4; caps of, 198
Bastable Stone, at Barnstaple, 2–3; the "Toune Stone," "Merchants' Exchange," 3 n. 1
Batavia, later Holland, 65 n. 2
Bath, described, 7–8; baths at, 7, 50; mixed bathing at, 7 n. 2; King Bladud's foundation of, 7 n. 2; Lady Waller's monument at, 8 n. 1; and Wells, 6
Bather, Dr F. A., notes supplied by, 193 n. 1, 232 n. 3
Bathing, mixed, at Bath, 7 n. 2
Batory, Etienne of Poland, 204 n. 3
Bauer, Ger., peasant, 195, 197; habits of, 195–6, 207
Bayonne, 35 n. 1, 86 n. 4, 208 n. 1
Bazeley, Canon of Gloucester, notes supplied by, 13 nn. 1 and 2, 14 n. 3
Beacons, beacon-fires, 48
Beaker, silver, 11
Bearbaiting, 179
Bears, in Archangel, 152
Bedford, Francis Russell, 4th Earl of, 30 n. 1
Bedrücker, Ger., a hangman, 175 n. 3
Beer, of Danzig, 180, 181; of Frankenhausen, 163 n. 2; of Hamburg, 163; of Lübeck, 162–3; of Ratzeburg, 163 n. 2; white, 163 n. 2; white Polish, 207; sea, 163 n. 1; *ums Gelt*, for money, 181 n. 1
Bees, about the Frisches Haff, 108
Beheading, at Danzig, account of, 173
Bell-ringing in England, 49; at Amsterdam, 68; Mundy's remarks on, xlvi, 233–4
Bells, the great, of the Wester-Kirke, Amsterdam, 69 n. 2; in Amsterdam generally, 74; in Russian Churches, 143 n. 2
Belt, the Great, 87
Beluga catodon, white whale, 134 n. 3
Benefit of clergy, xxvii, 14 n. 5
Bensly, Mr Edward, note furnished by, 234 n. 1
Berezov Channel, the, Archangel, 154 n. 1.
Bergen, Norway, 83, 127, 155
Berkeley ship Canal, Gloucester, 14 n. 4
Berlin, 188 n. 2
Bernicle goose, the. *See* Barnacle Goose
Bernstein, German name for amber, 107; derivation of, 107 n. 4
Bernstein-Eid, the Amber Oath, 108 n. 1
Betglocke, Bedeclocke, Angelus bell, 169 n. 3; of Danzig, described, 169
Beurs, Du., Burse, Exchange, 73 n. 1
Bideford, Bridge at, xxvii, 2 n. 3
Billingsgate, xlv, 224
Birken Masern (Ger., birch-measles), certain cups so called by German-speaking Russians, 153 n. 1
Bischofsberg, hill W. of Danzig, 212 n. 1

Black-cock, 107 n. 1
Bladud, King, his foundation at Bath, 7 n. 2
Blaew-Hooke, Du., Mundy's Blauhooke, xxxvii, 133 n. 3
Blank, a Dutch coin, 79, 80 n. 1
Blauhooke. *See* Blaew-Hooke
Blonie, 194
Blue Nose, Cape. *See* Blaew-Hooke
Board, to = to tack, 233 n. 6
Boat, tilted, explained, 32 n. 2
Bobbing, parish, Sheppey I., 56 n. 3
Bobrowniki, Mundy's Bobubberneekee, 205 n. 3, 206
Boca Tigris (Canton River), xiii
Bocian, Pol., a crane, 202 n. 4
Bodleian Library, Oxford, 26 n. 1
Bohemia, Frederick V, King of, marries Elizabeth sister of Charles I of England, 90 n. 3; his sister marries the Elector of Brandenburg, 90 n. 3
Bohnsack, 102 n. 5
Bollwerk, embankment on the Frisches Haff, xxxiii, 89 n. 6; of the Pregel, at Königsberg, 92 n. 2
Bon Esperanza, Cape, Cape of Good Hope, 125, 126, 128
Boom, Ger. *Baum*, a river barrier, xxxiv, 95 n. 1
Boor. *See Bauer*
Bordeaux hogshead, a French measure of about 61 gallons, 78 n. 1
Bore, in rivers, at Bridgwater, 25 n. 1; at Gloucester, 24–5; at Rouen (Roane), 25; at Cambay (Cambayett), 25
Bornholm, Island of, xxxiii, xxxv, xlv, 88, 112, 219, 220
Börsengebäude, the Old Exchange, at Königsberg, 92 n. 1
Bothnia, Gulf of, xxxii
Boyar, Russian noble, xxxviii
Brabander, Brabanter, Fleming, 117
Brabant huke, a mantle, cape, xxxi, 79 n. 1, Plate II, No. 2
Brahe, river, 207
Brahe, Tycho, 220 n. 3; designs Kronborg Castle, 84 n. 2; account of, 221 n. 1
Brandenburg, Germany, 93; on the Frisching, 105 n. 2; fishing near, 106
Brandenburg, Electors of, xli, 88 n. 1, 182; in Mundy's day was Georg Wilhelm, 90 n. 3; Anna, mother of, 90 n. 3; marries Elizabeth Charlotte, sister of Frederick V, King of Bohemia, 90 n. 3; styled Markgraf, xxxiii, 90, 182 n. 1; his Court at Königsberg, 90, 104 n. 2; illness and death of, 105 n. 1; Johann Sigismund, father of Georg Wilhelm, 90 n. 3; Friedrich Wilhelm, son of Georg Wilhelm, illness of, 105 n. 1
Brassica nigra, mustard, 21
Braunsberg, xlv, 93, 105, 212, 216; tilting at, 213–14
Braynefford. *See* Brentford
Breaking on the wheel, at Danzig, 172; account of, 173–4; illustration of, Plate IX, No. 10
Breame, Breme. *See* Bremen
Brecknock, xxviii, 16–19, 52; remains of Castle of, 19 n. 1
Brecknock Mere, 19 n. 3
Brecknockshire Beacons, the, 17 n. 1
Breheenock. *See* Brecknock
Breite Gasse, the, street, at Danzig, 168 n. 1
Bremen, xxxix, 166; described, 159–61; brick architecture at, 115 n. 6; mills at, 160, 161 n. 1; water-wheel at, 161; Bishopric of, xxxii; Bishop (Archbishop) of, xxxix, 158 n. 2, 159 n. 5; Duchy of, 158 n. 2; costumes in, xxxix, 161, Plate VII, No. 8; under Sweden, 158 n. 2
Bremervörde, Mundy's Bremenfioerd, xxxix, 158 n. 2, 159
Brent Goose, the, 51 n. 3
Brentford, 29
Bricks, in architecture in Northern Europe, 115 n. 6
Bridgwater, xxvii, 4; St Mary's Church at, 4 n. 1
Brielle. *See* Brill
Brightstad (9 n. 1), Brightestone (8 n. 2 and 10 n. 3). *See* Bristol
Brill, the (Brielle, de Briell), xxx, 60, 61, 64, 111; a "Cautionary Towne," 60 n. 1; Mundy lands in Holland at, 60
Bristol, xxvii, 8–11, 52; drainage, 9 n. 1; St Mary Redcliff Church, 9 n. 2; the Exchange, 9–10, 10 n. 1; the Bridge, 9, 10 n. 2; the Castle, 9, 10 n. 3; the High Cross, 9 n. 3; shooting com-

petitions, 10 n. 4; medicinal springs, 11 n. 4; coal, 11 n. 5
Bristow. *See* Bristol
Bromwell, Master, a ship's captain, 221
Broomberg, Posen, 207 n. 2
Brotherhood, Free, 180 n. 2. *See* Order
Brotslavia. *See* Vladislavia
Bruges, population of, 167 n. 3
Bruno, Giordano, xlv, 217; length of his work, 218 n. 1
Bruskbaroque work in St Olaf's at Elsinore, 86 n. 1
Brycheiniog (19 n. 3). *See* Brecknock
Brzezie, Brzesc, xlii, 194, 198
Bucentaur (*Bucintoro*), the, of Venice, 36
Buckstone, the, near Monmouth, 15 n. 3
Bug, Bugge, River, 205 n. 3, 206
Bulbs in Holland, 75; Bulb-mania, the, 75 n. 1
Burford, xxviii, 25
Burg, the, castle, of Danzig, 185 n. 2
Burger, 176, 185, 190
Bürgermeister, 176
Burials, at Amsterdam, hours and method of, 67–8; absence of women at, 68
Burmestene. *See Bernstein*; Amber
Burse, the = the New Exchange, London, 49; = the Old Exchange, Amsterdam, 73 n. 1
Bushes, "cairns" of, xxxv, 108 n. 2
Bushuis (Arsenal), the, of Amsterdam, 71 n. 1
Busino, Horatio, his description of Amsterdam, 70 n. 3
Buss, a ship for herring fishing, 223 n. 2
Busse, Christopher, story of, 174–5
Buttermilch Thurm, the, at Marienburg, 195 n. 2

Cackleoven, a tiled stove. *See Kachelofen*
Cader Arthur (Pen y Fan), highest of the Brecknockshire Beacons, 17 n. 1; called Cadier Arthur, Cadar Arthur, correctly, Cadair Arthur, 18
Cain and Abel, statue of, at York House, 45; history of, 45 n. 2
Cairns of bushes, xxxv, 108 n. 2
Calèche, calash, a light carriage, xxxiv, 99, 101; derivation of the term, 99 n. 1
Calf of Man, the, 51 n. 3
Calissia. *See* Kalisia
Callais, cullasse. *See Calèche*
Calvinists, in Danzig, 168
Cam, river, 32 n. 3
Cambay, Cambayett, 25
Cambo, Cambo-les-Bains, near Bayonne, 86 n. 4, 144
Cambridge, xxviii–xxix, 32, 48, 52; Trinity College, 33; King's College Chapel, 33 n. 1; Peterhouse Chapel, 33 n. 2
Camel, Arabian, one-humped, 118 n. 1; Bactrian, two-humped, 118 n. 1; the wooden, described, 163 n. 1
Canals, in Holland, 62–3
Canary House, London, a tavern, 49 n. 4
Cane. *See Kahn*
Canella de matto, explained, xii
Canon, Mr. *See* Canynge, William
Canterbury, xxix, 37; font and stained glass in Cathedral at, 37 nn. 1 and 2
Cantilever bridge, at Thorn, 196–7, 197 n. 3
Canvey Island, 224 n. 1
Canynge, William, grandfather and grandson, of Bristol, 9 n. 2
Cape of Good Hope, 125, 126 n. 2
Caravel, carvel, jelly fish, 222 n. 1
Carelia, xxxii
Carfax Conduit, Oxford, 28 n. 2
Carlisle, 187
Carrack, a vessel, 38
Carts, for carrying Portland Stone, xi
Cary, Sir Nicholas, garden of, 49
Cary House, in London, 49 n. 4
Cash (Chinese coin), described, xv
Casimir, King of Poland, 183 n. 1
Caspian Sea, 134 n. 3
Cassubia (Mundy's Cassooben), a part of Pomerania, xxxiii, 88 n. 1, 107
Castles, Norman, in S. Wales, 19 n. 4
Castren, Alexander, his work on the languages of the Samoyeds, 138 n. 4
Catch, Ketch, a small sea vessel, 53 n. 1
Cathedrals, Continental: Dom-Frauenburg (Dom-Kirche), 107 n. 3; St Peter's, Bremen, 159 n. 4

Cathedrals, England: Canterbury, 37; Christchurch, Oxford, 27–8, 27 n. 3, 33; Gloucester, xxvii, 12–13, 13 n. 1; Salisbury, 49; St Paul's (Old), London, xii, xxv, 30 n. 3, 47 n. 4, 48 n. 3
Catsnose, xxxvii, 133 n. 3
Catwater, xlvi, 224
Cautionary Towns, the, of Holland, xxx, 60 n. 1
Caviare, 152
Cecilia Renata of Austria, 1st wife of Vladislaus IV of Poland, 204 n. 6
Cedar-nut, pine-kernel, 188 n. 3
Ceylon, 227
Chair of honour, Chinese, xv
Chamber, small ordnance, 54 n. 4
Chamberlain, Robert, quoted by Mundy, 234
Chancellor, Richard, the first Englishman in Russia, xxxviii
Change-ringing of bells, xlvi, 233–4
Chapels. *See* Churches
Charles of Poland, brother of Vladislaus IV, 210 n. 2
Charles, the Simple, of France, endows the County of Holland, 65 n. 2
Charles I, of England, 189 n. 1; vacillation of, at the Battle of the Downs, 40, 43 n.; his sister marries Frederick V, King of Bohemia, 90 n. 3; plays at Pell Mell in London, 44; his pictures at Whitehall, 44–5, 45 n. 1; his bedstead at Theobalds, 29
Charles II, of England, 223 n. 8; as Prince Charles, 44 n. 1
Charles V, of Austria, portrait of, at the Junkerhof at Danzig, 179 n. 2
Charles XI, of Sweden, 86 n. 5
Charwa Castle, 206
Chatham, xxxix, 35; the Chain at, 34 n. 1; Dockyard, 36 n. 4; Rope-walk, 36 n. 5
Chawbucke, *chābuk*, a whip, a knout, 150 n. 4
Chelmno, 205 n. 3, 206. *See* Kulm
Chelmza. *See* Kulmsee
Chimes, at Amsterdam, 68; at Danzig, 184
Chinese, people, 137
Chirkee. *See* Czerwinsk
Christchurch Cathedral, Oxford, xxviii, 27–8; painted windows at, 27 n. 5
Christian IV of Denmark, xxvi, xxxii, 87 n. 2, 114 n. 3, 209 n. 3, 210 n. 1; his sons, xxxix, xliv, 158, 208, 209 n. 2; his quarrel with Hamburg, 120, 121 n. 1, 161, 162 n. 2, with Tycho Brahe, 221 n. 1; his relations with Christina Monk, 209 n. 1; with Vibeke Kruse, 209 n. 1; seizes British broadcloth, 209; his house at Glückstadt, xxxvi, 119, 157 n. 3; his camp at Fuhlsbüttel, 161–2; his defences against Sweden, 220
Christiania Fjord, 223 n. 4
Christina, Fraw. *See* Monk, Christina
Churches, Continental, Amsterdam, in, 68; Archangel, in, 143 n. 3; Bremen, in, 159; Danzig, 169, 186; English Church, Danzig, 107, 183–4; Glückstadt, in, 157 n. 3; Great Church, Archangel, 143 n. 3; Jacobi Kirche, Hamburg, 115 n. 3; Lutheran, 143 n. 3, 159 n. 3, 169; Marien Kirche, Pfarrkirche, Danzig, 169 n. 1, 186 n. 3; Moscow, in, 143 n. 3; Nieuwekirk, Delft, 63 n. 3; Oude Kirk, Amsterdam, 68 n. 3; Our Lady's, Lübeck, 163 n. 4; Russia, in, 143; described and illustrated, 144, and Plate V, No. 6; Wester Kirke, Amsterdam, 69 n. 2; St Ansgarius, Bremen, 159 n. 4; St Catherine's, Hamburg, 115 n. 5, 116; St Jacob's, Hamburg, 115 n. 3; St Mary the Virgin, Archangel, 143 n. 3; St Mary's, Lübeck, 163 nn. 4 and 5; St Nicholas, Amsterdam, 68 n. 3; St Nicholas, Hamburg, 115 n. 4, 116; St Olaf, Helsingör (Elsinore), 85 n. 2, 86 n. 1; St Peter's, Hamburg, 115 n. 2; St Stephen's, Bremen, 159 n. 4; St Ursula, Delft, 63 n. 3
Churches, England: All Saints', Bristol, 10 n. 1; All Souls' College Chapel, Oxford, 26 n. 4; King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 33; Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, 26–7, 26 n. 4, 33; Minster Abbey, Sheppey, Kent, 56 n. 3; Osney Abbey Priory, Oxford, 27 n. 4, 28 n. 1; St Alban's Abbey, 30 n. 3;

St Faith's, London, xxv, 47 n. 4; St Frideswide's, Christchurch, Oxford, 27 n. 4; St James's, Bristol, 11 n. 1; St John's College Chapel, Oxford, 27 n. 2; St Mary Magdalene's, Taunton, 3 n. 5; St Mary Redcliff, Bristol, 9 n. 2; St Mary the Virgin, Bridgwater, 4; St Mary's Chapel, French Protestant, London, 68 n. 4; St Nicholas', Gloucester, 14; St Peter's, Tiverton, 3 n. 3; Westminster Abbey, London, 49; Whitehall Palace Chapel, London, 44 n. 2
Cigueña, Sp., a stork, 202 n. 4
Civil War in England, 1642–1647, 219 n. 1
Claegeese, Clagis, Clawgeese, Clakis, xxvii, 51 n. 3
Clapboard, 91 n. 2, 183
Clements, Mrs, introduced modern mustard to Durham, 20
Clepsydra, reckoning of time, in Archangel, in Capri, in Mandalay, 151 n. 3
Cleves, the land of, Brandenburg as, 90 n. 3
Clocks, method denoting half-hours at Amsterdam, 66; clepsydra in Archangel, 151 n. 3; at Glastonbury Abbey, 6 n. 2; at St Mary's Church, Lübeck, 163 n. 4; at St Nicholas' Church, Hamburg, 116; at Wells Cathedral, 6 n. 2
Clock-tower at Danzig, xli, 184 n. 3; in Amsterdam, 74
Cloth, British, seizure of, by Christian IV and reprisal, 209 n. 3
Coal, at Kingswood near Bristol, xxvii, 11
Coblegrove. *See* Kobbelgrube
Cock-fighting in England, 50 n. 4
Cocks, spurs of, grafted on the heads of, 192–3
Cod, coddalau, xlv, 222 n. 4; = stockfish, 127 n. 2
Coins, in Holland, 79–80; in Russia, 147; altyn, 147; blank, 79, 80; brass penny, 79, 80; copeck, 147; crown, 75 n. 1; daalder, 80; denushka, 147 n. 1; doit, duit, 79, 80; dollar, 79, 80, 217 n. 1; dubbeltje, dubbelke, dooblekin, 79, 80; ducat, 176 n. 3; gold Kremnitz, 184 n. 4; Hungarian, 184 n. 4; Polish, 201 n. 4; ducatoon, dukaton, Dutch, 79, 80; farthing, 22; florin = gulden, 80, 210 n. 3; franc, 201 n. 4; gold ducat, Kremnitz, 184 n. 4; grievna, 147 n. 1; groat, groot, 79, 80; groschen, 147 n. 1; Polish, 181 n. 1; old Polish, 195; grosse, 195; grosz, Polish, 195 n. 1; guilder, gulden, 79, 80; Polish, 195 n. 1; gulden, 75 n. 1, 79, 80; half a crown, 183 n. 1; kopeka, 147; kreutzer, kreutzer-groschen, 195 n. 1; kushka, 147; mark, German, 183 n. 1; Lubs, Lubish, 116 n. 2; muscuscous, 147; oortke, ortke, oortje, 79, 80 n. 1; penning, 80 n. 1; penny, 62 n. 4, 79, 147; pieces of eight, 217 n. 1; polluscoe, polushka, 147; pond, pound, pownd, 79, 80, 147 n. 1; pound, English, 202; reaal, reealle, 79, 80 n. 1; reichsthaler, 184 n. 4; rijksdaalder, 80 n. 1; rix dollar, 79, 80 n. 1, 116 n. 2, 147, 165 n. 1, 184 n. 4; rose-noble, 220 n. 3; rouble, 147; schelling, shilling, 79, 80 n. 1; shilling, 185 n. 1; sou, 149 n. 2; stiver, stuiver, 62 n. 4, 79, 80 n. 1; stooter, stoter, 79, 80 n. 1; thaler, Danzig, 181 n. 1
Col. *See* Kullaberg
Cold, effects of, in Northern Europe, 97–9, 101
Cole, cabbage, 149 n. 1
Cole, Young and Old = Kulla, xxxiii, xlv, 84 n. 2, 221. *See also* Kullaberg
Coliholt. *See* Kahlholz
Colloredo, Colloreto, Lazarus, xlii; a monstrosity, story of, 188–9, 189 n. 1
Colmesey. *See* Kulmsee
Colmogro. *See* Kholmogory
Colnbrook, 29
Cologne, population of, at the end of the 16th cent., 167 n. 3
Common Garden. *See* Covent Garden
Companies, English trading, 48 n. 1
Coneetspoleskees. *See* Koniecpolski
Confession, auricular and general, in Denmark and among Lutherans, 85 n. 3
Conguerol = Kingroad (Bristol), 8 n. 2
Coninxberg. *See* Königsberg

Constantinople, 150 n. 2, 199 n. 1
Content, the, ship, 53 n. 2, 54 n. 1; her troublesome passage to Holland, xxx, 54, 58–61; in danger off Queenborough, 58
Copeck, 147 n. 1
Copenhagen, 83 n. 4, 87, 189 n. 1, 220
Copernicus (Koppernigk), Nicholas, of Frauenberg, xlv, 216; tomb of, 107 n. 3; reference to his works, 216
Copperas, industry, carried on near Queenborough, 57 n. 1
Cornwall, 1, 129
Corravia. *See* Cujavia
Cossacks, 172 n.; Zaporazhian, 203 n. 1
Costa, S. Bartolomeo de, 189 n. 1
Costumes, at Bremen, 161 and Plate VII, No. 8; at Danzig, 164, 190–2, 215 and Plate X, No. 11; at Hamburg, 117–18, 164 and Plate III, No. 3; at Holstein, 164; at Lübeck, 164 and Plate VIII, No. 9; at Mecklenburg, 164; of Polish gentlemen, 190; of Polish nobles, 201
Cotosste. *See* Kotteskrug
Cotswolds, the, xxviii, 25
Courante, Coranto, a dance, 190 n. 4
Courland, Cooreland. *See* Kurland
Courteen's Fleet, 159 n. 2
Courthose, Robert, tomb of, Gloucester, xxvii, 12 n. 3
Covaolee. *See* Kowal
Covent Garden, London, 47 n. 3
Cracow, bishop of, 204 n. 6; Castellan of, 205 n. 2
Cracow Faubourg, Warsaw, 199 n. 2
Craig Fawr, St Michael's Mount, Abergavenny, 15 n. 5
Crane, for unloading boats at Danzig and Bruges, 96 n. 1; cantilever type in London, 197 n. 3
Cranes, birds, in Holland, 78; in the Eastern counties of England, 78 n. 2; in Warsaw, 202
Craven, first Earl of, xxx, 53 n. 5, 54
Crew, crooh, an inn. *See* Krug
Crockern Pill, Mundy's "Crocke and Pill" (Bristol), 8 n. 2
Cromer, Bishop, on the Poles, xliii
Croo, Crooh, a country inn. *See* Krug
Cross, wearing the, in Russia, explained, 143 n. 1; knights of the, Teutonic knights, 195 n. 1
Cross, the High, at Bristol, 9 n. 3
Crossbows, practice with, at Danzig, 178
Crown, half a, 183 n. 1
Crucorney, derivation of, 15 n. 5
Cujavia, a province of Poland, 198 n. 3, 206 n. 4
Cullasse. *See Calèche*
Culme. *See* Kulm
Culpeper, Sir Thomas, obtains turf for fuel from Holland, 64 n. 4
Cups, hooped, in Wales, =firkin of Devon, 16 n. 3
Customs duty on leaving Danzig, 190 n. 1
Cymin, Hill, in Monmouthshire, 15 n. 3
Czar of Russia. *See* Tsar
Czembicki, Peter, Bishop of Cracow, 204 n. 6
Czervonaya Russ = Galicia, 94 n. 3
Czerwinsk, 205 n. 3, 206

Daalder, dollar, a Dutch coin, 80 n. 1
Dago, Island of, xxxii
Dam, flat land from which water has been drained, 76 n. 1
Dantz Dominick. *See* Dominick Fair
Danzig, Dantsic, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxix, xl, xlii, xliv, 72, 83, 92, 93 n. 1, 95 n. 3, 96, 97, 101, 102 n. 1, 103, 106, 107, 111, 112, 144, 165, 166, 205 n. 3, 206, 207, 208, 210, 217 n. 2, 228, 230; situation of, 89 n. 1, 153 n. 2; compared with London and Amsterdam, 167; a chief town of the Hanseatic League, 167 n. 1; German and Polish Languages in, 101 n. 2; description of, 167, 192; merits of, enumerated, 214–15; area, 91 n. 1; streets, 168; brick architecture at, 115 n. 6; not a clean town, 115; city wall, 170; described, 170 n. 2; defences, 211–12; against Poland, 170 n. 2; Betglocke, 169 n. 3; clocktower, 184 n. 3; chimes, 184; method of reckoning hours, 184; Arsenal described, 170–1; great cornmill, 184–5; Lighthouse, 88 n. 3; Merchant's hall, 183 n. 5; Cornmarket, 183; Münde, 164, 165; population, 167 n. 3; death-rate, 167 n. 3; manners, xli, 214–15;

sumptuary laws, 168 n. 3; costumes, 190–2, 215; Orders (Corporations), English and Scots in, 180; Punishments, 172–7; hangman at, 177; Zuchthaus, House of Correction, 185 n. 2; recreations, 177–81; bear-garden, 179 n. 1; Schützenhaus, 178 n. 4; Yunkerhof, 179–81; Comedians, 181–2; English tumblers, 212; Religion, 168; Pfarrkirche and its great organ described, 169, 186; Lutherans, 184 n. 1; Trade, 182–3, 182 n. 3, 183 n. 4; English staple, 89 n. 4, 183–4; English merchants, 183; English Church, 183–4; amber monopoly, 108 n. 1; Dominick Fair, 189 n. 2; good horses at, 185 n. 3; street singers, 185, 186 n. 1; "Jerusalem" near, 173; marriage ceremonies of Marie Louise of Poland in 1646, vii, 210–11; customs duties on leaving, 190 n. 1; capons at, 192
Danzig Road, xxxiii, 112 n. 2, 219
Danziger Haupt, xxxiv, 95 n. 3
Darschau. *See* Dirschau
Deal, xxix, 37, 52
Dean, Forest of, xxviii, 15 n. 4
Deer, from Cassubia, 107
Delft, xxxi, 62, 111; described, 63
Delftshaven, 61 n. 2
Delhi, 188 n. 2
Delphinus leucas, white dolphin, 134 n. 3
Democritus, Junior (Robert Burton), 228
Denmark, Northern, extension of, 132; extent of, in the Thirty Years' War, xxxii
Denny, island, in the Severn, 18
Denny (Dywenydd), stream, in Monmouthshire, name explained, 18
Denushka, Russian coin, 147 n. 1
Derwentwater, Lake, floating islands on, 51 n. 1
Devonshire, 129
Dholpur, India, 206 n. 2
Dietrich, the first Frisian Count, 65 n. 2
Dievenleider, Du., police-constable, 76
Dirschau, Mundy's Darshaw, 97 n. 1, 205 n. 3, 206, 207
Divinity School, Oxford, 26 n. 1
Dmitri, the False, xxxviii
Dogger Bank, 223 n. 1
Dogs, turnspit, 11 n. 2
Doit, *duit*, Dutch coin, 79, 80 n. 1
Dolhuis, Du., lunatic asylum, at Amsterdam, 73 n. 2
Dollar, Rix, 116 n. 2; Spanish, 217 n. 1
Dolphin, a white, 134 n. 3
Dom-Frauenburg. *See* Frauenburg
Domherr, Ger., Canon, 216
Dom-Kirche at Frauenburg, 107 n. 3
Dominick Fair, at Danzig, 189 n. 2
Don John of Austria, portrait of, at the Junkerhof at Danzig, 179 n. 2
Dool-hof, lit. maze, Amsterdam, 77 n. 3; described, 76
Dorchester (Oxon.), 25 n. 3
Dorp, Du., village, 114 n. 1
Douhoff of Pomerania, Count Gerard, married by proxy to Marie Louise de Nevers, 210 n. 2
Down on the nail, explanation of the expression, 10 n. 1
Downs, the, xlvi, 224; the great fleet at, in 1639, xxix, 34 nn. 2 and 6, 35, 37 n. 4; Dutch, Spanish and English Fleets in, 37–40; Battle of, described, xxix, xxxvi, 42–3
Drave, Drauve, river. *See* Trave
Dreyer, Dr J. L. E., his opinion on Mundy's Appendix III, 228 n. 1
Droitwich, saltsprings of, 51 n. 1
Dronten. *See* Trondhjem
Drunkenness in Germany, xlii, 195–6; in Poland, xliii–iv
dubbeltje, *dubbelke*, a Dutch coin, 80 n. 1
Dubbers Bank. *See* Dogger Bank
Ducat, 176 n. 3; Hungarian, value of, 184 n. 4; gold, Kremnitz, 184 n. 4, 185 n. 1; Polish, 12 francs, 201 n. 4
Dukaton, ducaton, a Dutch coin, 79, 80 n. 1
Duncan, Alexander G., on Bideford Bridge, 2 n. 3; on the Bastable Stone, 3 n. 1
Dune or Sand Island, near Heligoland, 157 n. 2
Dunkirk, escape of Spanish vessels to, 1639, 38 n. 1, 42 n. 1; under Spain in Mundy's day, 57 n. 2

Dunkirkers, privateering or private vessels and their crews, of Dunkirk, xxx, xxxii, 38 n. 1, 57 n. 2, 59–60
Durham, the mustard of, 20 n. 2
Durham House, Strand, London, 47 n. 3
Dutch, in Hamburg, 117; in Russia, 136 n. 2, 145
Dutch, the term used to describe the German language, 101; Broad, a kind of German, 101 n. 2; High-German, 101 n. 2
Dutch fleet, in the Downs, 37–43
Dvina, river (Archangel), 134 n. 1, 135 n. 3, 153; the Northern River, 153 n. 1
Dvina, Syevernaya, river, 154 n. 1
Dwyna River. *See* Dvina
Dybow, Poland, 194
Dywenydd, stream, Monmouthshire, 18

Earth, motion of the, round the sun, discussed, xlvi, 228–9
East India Company, the English, 48 n. 2; the Dutch, 71 n. 1
East India Company, the Dutch, House of, at Amsterdam, 71 n. 1
Edgar Tower, the, at Worcester, 23 n. 3
Edward II, tomb of, at Gloucester Cathedral, xxvii, 12 n. 4
Edward III, 12 n. 4, 55 nn. 1 and 2
Eevers Paulus. *See* Siefert, Paul
Egret, feathers of the, worn by Polish nobles, 201
Eichstadt, L., astronomer, xlv, 216 n. 2
Eitzen, Admiral Albrecht de, 121 n. 1
Eland, Ger., elk, Mundy's "Eyland," 107, 152
Elbe, river, xxxvi, 118 n. 3, 156, 157 n. 2; described, 115
Elbe *Privilegium*, 121 n. 1
Elbing, xxxiii, 89 nn. 5 and 6, 92, 93 n. 1, 107, 111, 212, 216; English staple at, 89 nn. 3 and 4
Elector of Prussia, the Great, Friedrich Wilhelm, xxxv
Elector Palatine, the = Pfalzgraf, 90 n. 3
Elephant's skull, a, at the West India House, Amsterdam, 72
Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, 54 n. 1, 90 n. 3
Elizabeth, Queen of England, her ambassador to Russia, 136 n. 3; "Cautionary" towns delivered to, xxx, 60
Elk, specimen of an, in Danzig, 107
Elsinore, xxxiii, 84, 85–6, 87, 120, 221
Ely Tower, 19 n. 1
Emperor (Imperator) of Russia, xxxvii
Enfield Chase, xxviii, 30
Engels, Gabriel, painter of Hamburg, 116
England, the seven excellencies of, 47–51; Civil War in, 1642–1649, 219 n. 1
English, in Rotterdam, 62 n. 1; in Russia, 136 n. 2, 145; in Hamburg, 117; soldiers, in the service of the Dutch, 54 n. 2; Order of, at Danzig, 180; Fleet of, in the Downs, 1639, 35, 37, 39, 42
Enkhuizen, Holland, 82 n. 1
Ensame. *See* Eynsham
Enscance, Mundy's "enschaunst," 161 n. 4
Ensign = company of foot soldiers, 211
Epiphany Fair, at Thorn, history of, 100 n. 3
Erasmus (Gerrit Gerritsz), statue of, in Rotterdam, 62 n. 2
Eric XIV of Sweden, 86 n. 5
Ermeland, Bishop of, 107 n. 3
Esthonia, xxxii
Esths, Language of the, 138 n. 4
Exchanges, at Bristol, 9–10; Royal = the Old, London, 49; the New, London, xxx, 47 n. 3, 49; the Merchants', Barnstaple, 3 n. 1; the Old, Königsberg, 92 n. 1
Exe, River, 3
Executions, at Danzig, 173
Exmoor, fall of snow on, in summer, xxvii, 3
Eynsham Ferry, 25 n. 3

Fairs: at Danzig, Frankfurt, Leipsic, 189 n. 2; three annual, at Thorn, 100 n. 3
Fal, River, 2 n. 1
Falconer, Matthias, founder of the copperas industry near Queenborough, 57 n. 1
Falmouth, xlvi, 52 n. 1, 152, 225
False witnesses, punishment of, 174
Falsterbo, 220
Farthingale, the, at Bremen, 161

Faversham (Feversham), oysters at, 57–8
Featherbeds, use of, in Denmark and Northern Europe, 86 n. 3; in Gascony (Southern France), 86 n. 4
Fencing, 179
Ferdinand II, Emperor, 121 n. 1
Ferdinand III, Emperor of Austria, 204 n. 6
Ferry, over the Nogat, 89; over the Vistula at Thorn in winter, described, 198
Fimera, Island. *See* Hven Island
Finland, Gulf of, xxxii, 153 n. 3
Finmark = Northern Norway, 128 n. 2
Finmarken, in Norway, 127 n. 1
Finno-Ugrian Languages, 138 n. 4
Finns, 128; Language of the, 138 n. 4
Fishing on the Frisches Haff, 106; for smelts, 106 n. 1; for cod, 222–3
Flanders, coast of, 59: brick architecture in, 115 n. 6
Flemings, in Hamburg, 117
Florin = dollar, 210 n. 3
Floris V, Count of Holland, builds the Castle of Muiden, 65 n. 2
Flushing, a "cautionary" town, 60 n. 1
Fly, the eye of, through the microscope, Mundy's description of, xlvi, 231–2; his remarks on the "nitts" on the belly of a, 232
Flyboat, Du., *vlieboot*, explained, 83 n. 2
Fontainebleau, 210 n. 2
Footing, paying for a, case of, 221 n. 3
Fordon, Fordonek, Poland, 205 n. 3, 206, 207
Forges. *See* Hubert, R.
Fortune off Hambro, Mundy's ship from Archangel to Hamburg, xxxix, 153
Fortune off Lubecke, the, Mundy sails from Lubeck to Danzig in, xl, 164–5
Fourdalee. *See* Fordon
Fowey, river, 2 n. 1
Foxnos, Foxnose = Cape Kerez, 133 n. 3, 134 n. 3
Franckenberg, Abraham von, astrologer, xlv, 217 n. 2; on the Moon, 217; his *Oculus Sidereus* discussed, xlvi, 251 n. 1
Francs, 201 n. 4
Frank = Frangi, Feringhee, a Western European, 150 n. 2
Frankenhauzen, beer of, 163 n. 1
Frankfurt am Main, 174; fair at, 189 n. 2
Frau, Fraw (Madame), 208, 209
Frauenburg, xxxv, 93, 102 n. 3, 105; the Cathedral of, 107 n. 3, 216 n. 1
Frederick II, of Denmark, 221 n. 1; builds Kronborg Castle, 84 n. 3
Frederick III of Denmark, son of Christian IV, as Archbishop of Bremen, xxxix, 158 n. 2
Frederick V, of Bohemia, 90 n. 3
Frederiksberg Castle, 157 n. 3
French, the, in Hamburg, 117; in Poland, 202
Friedrich Wilhelm, of Brandenburg, the Great Elector, xxxv; illness of, 105 n. 1
Frische Nehrung, xxxv, 108; woods on the, 108
Frisches Haff, xxxiii, xxxv, 89 n. 6, 92–3, 93 n. 1, 95 n. 3, 102–5, 106, 108; wildfowl on the, 93
Frisching, river, 105 n. 2
Fuhlsbüttel, military camp at, xxxix, 161–2
Fumun = Hu-měn = Boca Tigris (Canton River), xiii
Fürstenwerder, 95 n. 3

Gabare, Fr., a lighter, 197 n. 5
Gainsford, Thomas, on the excellencies of England, 50 n. 3
Galicia, 94 n. 3
Galliard, a dance, 190 n. 4
Gamasid mite, xlvi, 232 n. 3
Gans Krug, Gantts Crooe, the Goose Inn, xxxiv, 102 n. 1
Garfish, 187 n. 2
Garlic (*Allium ursinum*), at Stratton in Cornwall, xxvii, 1 n. 2
Garlic Inn, the, xlii, 194 n. 1
Garmsel, xlii, 194
Garraway, Sir Henry, Lord Mayor of London, 44 n. 4; A "Committee" of the E. I. Company, 44 n. 4
Genoa, 188, 189 n. 1
Genoese, the, 150
Georg Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, his disastrous attitude in the Thirty Years' War, 90 n. 3; illness and death of, 105 n. 1

German, language, varieties of the, 101 n. 2; "High Germaine," 150 n. 1; Low, 182
Germans, in Hamburg, 117; in Poland, xliii, 202
Gerrit Gerritsz. *See* Erasmus
Gillingham, xxix, 56 n. 3; the Chain at, 35 n. 1
Giordano Bruno, Italian philosopher, 218 n. 1
Giralda, the, at Seville, 74
Gjœsvær, 125 n. 3
Glastonbury (Glacenbury) Abbey, xxvii; tomb of S. Joseph of Arimathæa at, 4 n. 3; kitchen of, story of, 4 n. 4; Holy Thorn, near, 5 n. 1, 50; clock from, at Wells, 6 n. 2
Glastonbury Tor, 6 n. 1
Gloucester, xxviii, 15, 19, 22, 52, 160; Cathedral of, xxvii, 12–13, 49; Castle at, 14 n. 1; S. Nicholas' Church at, 14; Berkeley Ship Canal at, 14 n. 4; Bore in the Severn at, 24–5, 25 n. 1
Gloucester, Humphrey Duke of. *See* Humphrey Duke of Gloucester
Glücksburg, the castle at Glückstadt, 157 n. 3
Glückstadt, xxxvi, xxxix, 121 n. 1, 157 n. 3, 209; Christian IV's fort on the Elbe, 119 n. 1; castle and garden at, described, 119–20
Gnesen, Poland, 206 n. 4
Goa, 117
Godunoff, Boris, xxxviii
Goeree, 59, 60
Golden Farmer, the, inn near Bagshot, 181 n. 1
Golden Russ, old name for Galicia, 94 n. 3
Golden Sun, the, Danish East India ship, seized by the British, 209 n. 3
Gonzaga, Maria Ludovica, 2nd wife of Vladislaus IV of Poland, 186 n. 3
Gospodar, Gosyudar, xxxvii
Gostynin, 194; tombs at, xlii, 199
Gothland Island, xxxii
Governor's Straits, Singapore, xiii
Gracht, Du., canal, 69
Grafting parts of one animal on another, 192–3
Grain, Isle of, 56 n. 3
Grampus, a dolphin, 134
Granta, river, xxix, 32
Graudenz, xxxiv, xlii, 96, 97 n. 1, 194, 196, 205 n. 3, 206, 207
Grave. *See* Grev
Gravesend, xxx, xlv, 41, 53, 54, 224
Green colour of the sea, 155 n. 2
Gregory, Herr, hangman of Danzig, 177
Grev, Graff, Grave, Earl, 208, 209
Grievna, Russian coin, 147 n. 1
Gris, grey fur, 192 n. 6
Grodinske. *See* Graudenz
Groot, groat, a Dutch coin, 80 n. 1
Groote Markt in Rotterdam, 62
Groschen, Russian and German coin, 147 n. 1; Polish, 181 n. 1; old Polish, 195
Gross-dichtenau, 194; a story of, xlii, 195–6, 195 n. 2
Grosse = groschen, Russian (and German) coin, 147 n. 1
Grosz, Polish coin, 198 n. 4
Grudziadz, Polish form of Graudenz, *q.v.*
Grüne Brücke, at Königsberg, 92 nn. 1 and 2
Guilder, Polish coin, 185 n. 1
Guing = ging = gang = a boat's crew, xi
Gulden, a Dutch coin, 80 n. 1
Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, xxvi; betrothed to Marie Eleonore, sister of George Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, 90 n. 3; in Elbing, 89 n. 5

Haaf, Frisches. *See* Frisches Haff
Haakon V, of Norway, 128 n. 4
Haarlem, Harlem, xxxi, 64 n. 3; described, 65
Hadju, *hadjuk*, Hungarian, a haiduk, shepherd, 191 n. 1
Haffs, on the Baltic Coast, 95 n. 2
Hague, the, 62; buildings at, 63
Haiduk, Heiduc, Heyduke, Heyducke, a soldier, male attendant or servant, xlv, 191, 201; costume of, 191 n. 1
Haies. *See* Hay
Hajduk, Polish, Haiduk, *q.v.*
Halibut, 129
Halle, 188 n. 2
Hamburg, xxxii, xxxv, xxxix, 113 n. 3, 114, 118 n. 3, 161, 165, 166, 199 n. 1, 200, 209; described, 115–17; not a clean town, 115; fortification, 115 n. 1; churches, 115, 116; costumes, 117–18 and Plate III, No. 3; nationalities,

117; quarrels with Christian IV, 120–21, 121 n. 1; staple at, 158
Hanse Städte, "Hanstownes," 158 n. 2, 160
Hanseatic League, 158 n. 2
Hanstowns. *See* Hanse Städte
Hanswurst-Spiel, a comical interlude, 182 n. 1
Hares, white, at Heiligenbeil, 107
Harlemmerdijk, Amsterdam, 72 n. 1
Harlingen, Holland, 82 n. 2
Harwich, Castle of, 223
Hāsawa, Yuriak Samoyed, meaning of, 140 n. 5, 141 n. 3
Hatfield House, xxviii; exchanged by James I with 1st Earl of Salisbury for Theobalds, 29 n. 3; 2nd Earl of Salisbury at, 30 n. 2
Haupt, Danziger, 95 n. 3, 96
Hay, in Herefordshire, 19; Norman Castle at, 19 n. 4
Heerengracht, Amsterdam, 69 n. 3
Hefft. *See* Haupt, Danziger
Heidelberg, the great Tun of, 78 n. 1 and Plate I, No. 1
Heiligenbeil, 105; game at, 107
Heiligenbrunn, near Danzig, xli, 178, 178 n. 3, 215
Hela, on the Putziger Nehrung, xxxv, xlv, 112 n. 4, 219
Heligoland, xxxvi, xxxix, 121, 156–7; origin of the name discussed, 156 n. 2
Helsingborg, on the Sound in Sweden, Castle of, 86 n. 5
Helsingörs. *See* Elsinore
Henker, Ger., a hangman, 175 n. 3
Henley on Thames, 29
Henrietta Maria, Queen, wife of Charles I, 44 n. 2
Henry V, born in Monmouth Castle, 15 n. 2
Henry VIII, repairs Queenborough Castle, 55 n. 2
Henstades. *See* Hanse Städte
Henwick Hill, near Worcester, 23 n. 4
Hereford, xxviii, 19; Cathedral at, 19
Hevel, Hevelius, Johann. *See* Hovelke, Johann
Heyduggen, Ger., Polish King's bodyguard, 191 n. 1
Hiet, Gregory, master of the *Content*, 53 n. 2
Hinksey, North and South, Oxfordshire, 29 n. 1
Hinter-Pommern, 88 n. 1
Hitteren Island, 155 n. 1
Hof, Ger., court, factory, exchange, 175
Hogholms, the, 154 n. 2
Holland, the County of, 61 n. 2, 65 n. 2; coast of, 59; Mundy's journey in, 52, 81; Counts of, xxxi, 65 n. 2; war between Denmark and, 220
Hollander, used to describe a German, 101 n. 1
Holstein, 113; costume in, 164; Duchy of, xxxii
Holyland. *See* Heligoland
Holy Mount, the, near Abergavenny, 15 n. 5
Holy Nose. *See* Sviatoi Nos
Holy Thorn, near Glastonbury Abbey, xxvii, 5 n. 1, 50; grew in Werrall Park, 5 n. 1
Holywell. *See* Heiligenbrunn
Hooft, P. C., "*drost*" of Muiden, 65 n. 2
Hoogstraat, Amsterdam, 71 n. 1
Hoorn, Holland, 82 n. 2
Hope, the ship, xxxii, 82
Hornet, a rock, 126 n. 3
Horse-Fair Day at Stourbridge Fair, 32 n. 1
Horses, of Danzig, 185 n. 3
Horsey, Sir Jerome, ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Russia, 136 n. 3
Hospitals at Amsterdam, for soldiers, for the sick, for burghers, 73 n. 2
Hospodar. *See* Gospodar
Hôtel de Rome, Kulm, 207 n. 3
Hotwell, the, at Bristol, 11 n. 4
Hour, method of reckoning the, at Amsterdam, 68; at Danzig, 184
Hovelke, Johann, German astronomer, xlv, 216; his *Selenographia*, 216 n. 3, 230
Howard, Mr Eliot, his note on mileage, 52 n. 1
Howe, Mrs, her help in Russian history, xxxviii n. 1; in the Samoyedish language, 138 n. 4
Hubert, a collector of rarities, 46 n. 2
Hüfte-Wulst, Hufti-oulst, waist pad, farthingale, xxxix, 161 n. 3
Huijste Sinnelust, a music-house at Amsterdam, 77 n. 2
Huke, huyke, Du. *huik*, a mantle, cape, xxxix, 79 n. 1; at Bremen, 161 n. 3

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the Good Duke, xxix, 31 n. 1
Hungarians, language of the, 138 n. 4; costume of the, 191 n. 1
Hungary, 94 n. 3
Hungroad, near Bristol, 8 n. 2
Hven, Hveen, Huena, island, xlv, 220–1, 220 n. 3, 221 n. 1

Ice, a journey on the, in the Frisches Haff, 103–4; cracking, explanation of, 104 n. 1
Ikon, eikon, Russian, forbidden to be sold to strangers, 142 n. 1
Imperator of Russia, origin of title, xxxvii
In de Mennisten Bruyloft, a music-house at Amsterdam, 77 n. 2
Infinity, Mundy's philosophy of, 218
Ingermanland, xxxii
Insula Scarlatina, Hven Island, 220 n. 3
Irtish, River, 137 n. 4
Isis, river, 25
Iskandar Muda of Achin, his sister marries a King of Johor, xii
Islands, floating, in Scotland, 51; in Lake Derwentwater, 51 n. 2
Italians in Poland, 202; singers and artists at Court of Vladislaus IV, 202 n. 2; engineers in Warsaw, 203–4
Ivan Vassiliewitch, 136 n. 3
Ivan III, the Great, of All Russia, xxxvii
Ivan IV, the Terrible, xxxvii, xxxviii

Jacob and the Angel, xlii, 198
Jacobi-Kirche, the, at Hamburg, 115 n. 3
Jagd, Ger., chase, hunt, origin of "yacht," 177, 178 n. 1
Jagt, Du., yacht, 178 n. 1
James, the, ship, in the Downs, 1639, 39 n. 3
James I, 223 n. 8; at Theobalds, 29 n. 3; Palace of, at Royston, xxix, 32 n. 1; restores the "cautionary towns" to Holland, xxxi, 60 n. 1; his daughter marries Frederick V King of Bohemia, 90 n. 3
James II, of England, 44 n. 3
Janissary, 191
Jellee jellee, canoe, 219 n. 4
Jerusalem, near Danzig, 173; near Lübeck, 173 n. 1; family of von, at Danzig, 173 n. 1
Jews, in Amsterdam, 70, 70 n. 1, 199; in Constantinople, 70, 198, 199; in Thorn, 101 n. 1; position and costumes of, 198–9
Jillingame. *See* Gillingham
Job, Metropolitan of Moscow, xxxviii
Jodenbree-Straat, Amsterdam, 70
John, King, tomb of, in Worcester Cathedral, 23 n. 2
Johor, King of, marries Iskandar Muda's sister, xii; date of death of, xii
Jol, Du., yawl, 128 n. 2
Jolle, jull, Scand., yawl, a boat, 128 n. 2
Jones, Sir Thomas, Judge, 14 n. 6, 19
Jopen Gasse, the, at Danzig, 168 n. 1, 170
Jopson, Mr N. B., his note on Mundy's "Smarga," 192 n. 3
Jordanus Brune. *See* Bruno, Giordano
Juchten, Du., *Juften*, Ger., Russia leather
Jungfer, Ger., a maid, 190, 191
Junker, a title of the Danzig merchants, xli, 179 n. 2
Junkerhof, a house used for entertainments by social corporations, a Merchants' Court, 179 n. 2; at Danzig, described, xli, 179–81, 184, 215; at Braunsberg, 213
Jupiter and its satellites, Mundy's remarks on, 228–30
Jurak, Yuriak, 138 n. 4
Justice of Lubecke, the, ship, xxxv, 112
Jutland, xxxii, 84

Kabeljau, Ger., cod, 222 n. 4
Kachel, Ger. (*kagchal*, Du.), a tile, 110, 111; a continental tiled-stove, 111 n. 1
Kachelofen, described, xxxv, 109, 110–11, 111 n. 1, 144 n. 3; at the Junkerhof, Danzig, 181 n. 3
Kāfila = commercial fleet, xiii
Kahlholz, 102 n. 4
Kahn, Ger., a corn-lighter, wherry (Mundy's "Cane"), xxxiv, xlii, xliv, 96, 182, 197, 205, 208
Kaisar, Tsar, 145
Kalisia, province of Poland, 198 n. 3
Kalver-Straat, Amsterdam, 70

Kamassin, dialect of Samoyedish, 138 n. 4
Kampen, Holland, 82 n. 2
Kanin Peninsula, the, 132 n. 1
Kara Sea, 137 n. 4
Katsnoes. *See* Koshkinos
Kattel, Swiss, a tiled stove, 111 n. 1
Keizersgracht, Amsterdam, 69 nn. 2 and 3
Ken = view, 16 n. 1
Kennel, street channel, gutter, 22 n. 5
Kenneston. *See* Kynaston Green
Kentish Flats, the, 54 n. 3
Kerez, Cape, 123 n. 3
Kersner. *See Kürschner*
Khan, a Turkish inn, 109
Kholmogory, 145 n. 2, 150 n. 6
Kiev, Grand Duchy of, xxxvii
Kilgour, Dr., his verification of Mundy's quotation, 218 n. 3
Kingdon, Mr C. D., on Stratton garlic, 1 n. 2
Kingroad (Bristol), 8 n. 2
King's College Chapel, Cambridge, xxix; glass in, 33 n. 1
Kingswood Coalpits, Bristol, 11 n. 5
Kjøbenhavn. *See* Copenhagen
Klovienerburgwall, Amsterdam, 71 n. 1
Knaresborough, dropping well at, 51 n. 1
Kneiphof in Königsberg, 90 n. 1, 92 n. 2; the Old Exchange in, 92 n. 1
Knoblauch Krug, the, Garlic Inn, xlii, probably at Garmsel, 194 n. 1
Knot, a laid-out flower bed, 119 n. 2
Knout, 150 n. 5
Kobbelgrube, 106
Kolaska, *Kolyaska*, Pol. and Russ., origin of *calèche*, *q.v.*
Kolberg, capital of Cassubia, 88 n. 1
Komar, Russian, a singing gnat, 134 n. 2
Koniecpolski, Stanislas, xliv, 205 n. 2
Königsberg, Koningsberg, xxxi, xxxiii, 72, 83, 111, 181; Court of Elector of Brandenburg at, 90 n. 3, 105 n. 1; area of, 91 n. 1; a market for timber, 183; English comedians at, 182 n. 1; costumes of women at, 192; Mundy's journey to, in 1640 and 1641, 89, 102–5; game at, 107
Konings Garde, the, at Glückstadt, 119 n. 4
Kopeka, copeck, 147 n. 1
Kopernikus. *See* Copernicus
Kosher, Heb., *kasher*, meat, 198 n. 6
Koshkinos, Koskanos (Catsnose), Cape Kuiski, 133 n. 3
Kotteskrug, 102 n. 2
Kowal, Poland, xlii, 194, 198
Krebse, Ger., crayfish, 215 n. 5
Kreutzer, *Kreutzer groschen*, 195 n. 1
Kreuzer-Herren, the Teutonic Knights, a story of, 195–6, 195 n. 1, 196 n. 1
Krolewic, Polish name of Königsberg, 90 n. 2
Kronborg Castle, 84 n. 3
Krug, Ger., a rough country inn, xxxiii, xxxv, 89 n. 2, 90, 95, 114 n. 4, 207; described, 109
Kruse, Vibeke, her relations with Christian IV of Denmark, 209 n. 1
Kuiski, Cape (Catsnose), 133 n. 3
Kulla Bay in Sweden, 84 n. 2
Kullaberg, Sweden, xxxii, xlv, 84 n. 2, 221
Kulm, 205 n. 3, 206, 207; English staple at, 207 n. 3; Hôtel de Rome at, 207 n. 3
Kulmsee, xxxiv, 97 n. 1, 194
Kurfürsten-Werk, in St Mary's astronomical clock, Lübeck, 163 n. 4
Kurisches Haff, by Memel, 95 n. 2
Kurland, 107
Kurrende Jungen, educated street-singers, xli, 186 n. 1
Kürschner, Ger., furrier, 211
Kushka, Russian coin, 147 n. 1
Kwan = tael, xii
Kynaston Green, 16th cent. landslide at, xxviii, 20 n. 1

Labeer, Du. *laveeren*, to tack, 156 n. 3, 165 n. 3
Labyrinth, at Rosamond's Bower, xxvii, 28 n. 4
Lachsforellen, Ger., salmon-trout, 215 n. 4
Lœsö, Lesou, island, xxxii, 84, 221
Landenny, Monmouthshire, 18
Landguard Fort, Harwich, 223 n. 8
Land-portage for boats in Holland, 64 n. 3
Lange Gasse, the, at Danzig, 168 n. 1

Langer Markt, the, at Danzig, 168 n. 1, 180
Langgassenbrücke, the, at Königsberg, 92 n. 2
Langorse Lake. *See* Brecknock Mere
Langrwyne, Llangrenay, Langroyna, S. Wales, xxviii, 15 n. 1
Lansdowne MS., 213; quoted, 4 n. 4, and elsewhere in Rel. XXXI
Laore, Pulo. *See* Aor, Pulo
Lapland, extent of, xxxvii, 133
Lapps, Laplanders, 125 n. 3, 128; described, 127, 129; language of the, 138 n. 4
Last, Ger., a measure of 2 tons, 182 n. 3
Latvia, 150 n. 1
Lauritzen, Frantz, a font presented by, to St Olaf's, Elsinore, 86 n. 1
Le Laboureur, J., his account of the marriage ceremonies of Marie Louise of Poland at Danzig in 1646, 211 n. 1
Ledbury, 24
Leigh, Lee, on the Thames, 224 n. 1
Leipsic, the Lutherans of, 85 n. 3; fair at, 189 n. 2
Lencicia, a province of Poland, 198 n. 3
Leopard, the, ship, in the Downs, 1639, 39 n. 3
Lesjanka, Russian, a stove for sleeping on, 144 n. 3
Letland, 150 n. 1
Letou. *See* Lithuania
Lettonia, 150 n. 1
Letts, Mr Malcolm, notes supplied by, 46 n. 2, 96 n. 1, 167 n. 3, 172 n. 2, 176 n. 2, 179 n. 2, 199 n. 4, 221 n. 1
Levant Company, the, 48 n. 2
Leyden, 69, 77 n. 2
Liang, tael, weight of, xv–xvi
Licetus, Fortunius, his *De monstrorum caussis*, referred to, 189 n. 1
Lichtenau. *See* Gross-Lichtenau
Lichtenawer Thurm, the, at Marienburg, 195 n. 2
Liebe, river, 207 n. 6
Lifflander, Livlander, 150 n. 1
Lighthouses, at Danzig, 88 n. 3, 164; at Lübeck, 164
Lingelbach, David, the Dool-hof (maze) of, at Amsterdam, 77 n. 3
Linemann, Albert, astronomer, reference to, xlv, 216 n. 2
Lissomitz, Poland, 194
Listoffe. *See* Lowestoft
Lithuania, 107
Litva, Litou, a Lithuanian, 94 n. 4
Livland, Livonia, xxxii, 87, 150 n. 1
Lizard, the, 127
Llandenny. *See* Landenny
Llanfihangel Crucorney, near Abergavenny, 15 n. 5
Llyn Safuddan. *See* Brecknock Mere
Lobenicht, district of Königsberg, Court of the Elector of Brandenburg in, 90 n. 2
Lodee, lodge, lodgen, etc. *See Lodia*
Lodia, *lody*, a Russian sailing lighter, xxxvii, 133 n. 1, 152; description of, 152 n. 2
Lofoten, Lofotodden Islands, 154, 154 n. 2
Log-houses in Northern Europe, 94; in Archangel, 143; described, 143 n. 4
Lombasch. *See* Lumbovsk
London, a description of, xxx, 44–7; Train Bands and training grounds of, 48 n. 1; population of, 67; death rate in, 67, 167 nn. 3 and 4; compared with Danzig, 167
London Bridge, 49; fire on, 49 n. 1
Lopes de Oresy Cordova. *See* Ores y Cordova, Lopes de
Louvre, the, Long Gallery at, 36 n. 5
Lowestoft, 223
Lowiczek, Poland, 194
Lübeck, 87, 114, 166; account of, xxxv, xxxix, 162–3; shipping at, 162 n. 3; beer of, 162–3; costumes in, xl, 164, and Plate VIII, astronomical clock at, 163 n. 4; Danish garrison at, 114 n. 3; population of, 167 n. 3; Road of, 113; the Munde at, 164
Lubecker, a ship of Lübeck, 221; in the Spanish Fleet, 43 n. 1
Ludwigsdorff, 217 n. 2
Luffoet Iland. *See* Lofoten Islands
Lumbovsk, xxxvi, 132
Luther, Martin, 186 n. 1
Lutherans, in Archangel, 143 n. 3, Bremen, 159 n. 3, Danzig, 168, 184 n. 1, Denmark, 85 n. 3, Hamburg, 113 n. 4, Lübeck, xxxv, 113 n. 4; German, 146 n. 3; account of, 168; *versus* Calvinist Princes in Germany, 90 n. 3

Lynher, river, 2 n. 1
Lyttelton, John and Thomas, monument to, in Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, 27 n. 1

Maas, Holland, 59
Maasluis, Mundy's "Scluise on the Maze," 61 n. 2
Macao, 117
Mackerel, in the North Sea, 222
Magerö Island, 125
Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, xxviii, 26–7, 33
Magdeburg, 101 n. 2
Magyarka (magheerkee), Hungarian, a long cloak, 191 n. 1, 201
Magyars, 191 n. 2; language of the, 138 n. 4
Maidenhead, 29
Maidstone, 40; thread factory at, xxix, 40 n. 3
Main, river, 174
Maistling, 114
Malacca, Straits of, 137 n. 1
Malayans, 137
Malden, Mr H. E., his note on Basingstone, 181 n. 2
Mallemucke, Ger., a Fulmar Petrel, "Molly," 125 n. 1
Malmö, Mallmuyen, 220
Malmohus, Sweden, 220 n. 1
Malström, the, xxvii, xxxix; described, 154 n. 2
Malvern Hills, xxviii, 24
Man (Chinese), myriad, not a *lakh*, xvi
Mandeville, Sir John, supposed burial of, at St Albans Abbey, xxix, 31, 31 n. 2
Mandrake, mandragora, xxvii, 46 n. 2
Manucdenny. *See* Monuch Denny
Manwood, Sir John, reports of, on fleets in the Downs 1639, 39 nn. 2 and 5, 41 n. 3
Marcle Hill, 16th cent. landslide on, xxviii, 20 n. 1
Mardo, unidentified, 222 n. 3
Mardyck, the Old Fort at, 43 n.
Margate, 54
Marginiai, Lithuanian, pleated skirt, 192 n. 3
Marie Eleonore, sister of Georg Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, betrothed to Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, 90 n. 3
Marie Louise, Maria Louisa Gonzaga, 2nd wife of Vladislaus IV of Poland, marriage ceremonies of, at Danzig, xliv, 210–11, 210 n. 1, 211 n. 1
Marienburg, 194, 195, 207; castle at, 196 n. 1
Marienkirche, Danzig, 169, 186
Marienwerdèr, 194 n. 1, 207
Mark, Lubs, Lubish, 116 n. 2; Polish, 183 n. 1
Marlborough, James Ley, 3rd Earl of, pirated by Dunkirkers, xxx, 57 n. 3
Marriage customs in Holland, 76 n. 2
Martial, a reference to, 234 n. 1
Mary and Hanna, the ship, 53
Masovia, province of Poland, 198 n. 3; Dukes of, 199 n. 3
Mathenni. *See* Landenny
Maunder, Mrs, of the Royal Astronomical Society, her note on Franckenberg's work, 231 n. 1
Maurice, Prince of Orange, monument to, at Delft, 63 n. 4
Mazarin, Cardinal, arranges a marriage between Vladislaus IV of Poland and Marie Louisa Gonzaga, 210 n. 2
Maze. *See* Maas
Mazes, at Amsterdam, 77 n. 3
Mazure cups, 153; made of birch burrs, 153 n. 1
Mecklenburg, 113; costumes at, 164
Medley, Oxon., 29
Medway, river, 40
Memel, 95 n. 2
Men-Amber, Men-an-bar, Rocking Stone, destruction of, 50 n. 1
Menisten Bruiloft, the, Amsterdam, 76–7; a Music-house, 77 n. 2
Merhonneur, the, ship, at Chatham, 36 n. 4
Mess (Mart), the "Dantz Dominick," 189 n. 2
Mestiça, *Mestiza*, a half-caste, 117 n. 3
Mevis. *See Mewe*
Mewe, on the Weichsel, 97 n. 1, 205 n. 3, 206, 207
Mewe, Ger., gull, 125 n. 1
Micheldean, derivation of, 15 n. 4
Microscope, in the 17th cent., 47 n. 1; Mundy's use of, 231
Midnight Sun, the, xxxvi, 121–2; explained, 123 n. 1

Mieszawa, Poland, 205 n. 3, 206
Mikhail Romanoff, Tsar of All the Russias, 94 n. 2
Mile, reckoning of the English, 52 n. 1; the Dutch, 193; Dutch (*mijl*) and English compared, 64 n. 2, 96, 166; German, 166
Military Yard, Military Garden, London, the Hon. Artillery Company's training ground, 45 n. 1, 178 n. 4
Mills, saw, at Bremen, 161; corn, at Bremen, 160, 161 n. 1; great corn, at Danzig, xli, 184–5
Minster-in-Sheppey, described, 56; Abbey of, 56 n. 3
Mistauban. *See* Maistling
Mite, the Garmasid and the itch, xlvi, 232 n. 3
Mizen, missen, a jelly fish, 222 n. 1, 223
Modlin, Castle, 206 n. 1
Möen Island, 220
Moldavia, 94 n. 3
Molly, the Fulmar Petrel, 125 n. 1
Moluccas, the, 227
Mönch, Der, Monk Rock, Heligoland, 157 n. 1
Monk, Christina, morganatic wife of Christian IV of Denmark, xliv, 208–9, 209 n. 1
Monmouth, xxviii, 15; Castle of, 15 n. 2
Monsoon, 188
Monster, at the Royal Castle at Warsaw, xxvii, xlii, 199 n. 3; method of making false, in England, 199 n. 4
Monuch Denny, Manucdenny, Mounchdenny, Mount Denny, xxviii, 17; the name discussed, 17 n. 1
Moon, maps of the, 217; spots on the, discussed, 230
Moorfields, London, 49 n. 3, 70
Moor Park, Herts, 30 n. 1
Morgan, Rice, a harper, xxviii, 14
Morning Starre, the, ship, xlvi, 224
Moscovia, Russia, xxxvii, 145; Duke of, xxxvii, 133, 209; commodities of, 152
Moscovite. See Muscovite
Moscow, Moscwa, xxxviii, xliv, 145 n. 1, 153 n. 2, 209; churches in, 143, 150; female costumes in, 146; Mundy's desire to travel to, and beyond, 153
Moshki, Russian, a midge, 134 n. 2
Mosken Island, 154 n. 2
Moskenstrom, Malström, 154 n. 2
Moslava, river. *See* Mottlau
Mosquitoes, in Russia, 134 n. 2
Mother and Daughters, islands, off the North Cape, 125
Mottlau, river, at Danzig, xliv, 89 n. 1, 170 n. 2, 178, 208
Mount St Michael, Cornwall, 55
Mücke, Ger., a singing gnat, a midge, 134 n. 2
Muff, for men, at Danzig, 191
Muiden, xxxi, 65; Castle of, 65 n. 2; "Drost" of, 65 n. 2
Müller, The Last Judgement, by, at the Junkerhof at Danzig, 179 n. 2
Munch, Kirsten. *See* Monk, Christina
Münde, the, at Danzig, xl, 88 nn. 3 and 4; at Lübeck, 113, 164, 165. *See also* Weichselmunde
Mundy, Anne, wife of Peter Mundy, xxv
Mundy, Peter (the author), date of birth (1597), xlv, 224 n. 2; his marriage and children, xxv; thrown from his horse, 14–15; misses seeing the Battle of the Downs, 41; escapes shipwreck, 58–60; nearly perishes of cold 97–8; his wonderful ear for languages, 138 n. 4; his interest in, and knowledge of, astronomy, 228–9; his instrument for measuring time round the world, 226–7; his remarks on bell-ringing and on change-ringing, 233–4; his description of a fly's eye, 231–2; of "nitts," 232; his remarks on changes made in London by the Civil War (1647), 224
Mundy, Peter, son of Peter Mundy, the author, xxv
Murman Coast, the, 132 n. 1
Muscovite, Muscoveter, Muscoviterische, Russian, xlii, 94, 145, 199, 210
Muscovy. *See* Moscovia
Muscovy Company, the, 48 n. 2
Muscuscou, Russian coin, 147 n. 1
Music, in Archangel and Turkey compared, 151
Mustard, of Tewkesbury, 20–2; of Durham, 20 n. 2

Musters, military, in England, 48 n. 1
Muttlow, River. *See* Mottlau
Mynydd Caerau, hill in Glamorgan, 16 n. 1

Nadder, river, 49 n. 6
Napkins, not used in Danish inns, 86
Naring. *See* Nehrung
Narova River, 153 n. 3
Narva, Gulf of, Finland, 153 n. 3
Natural History Museum, Oxford, 26 n. 3
Nehrung, Frische, 93 n. 1, 107
Neistack, Near Piece, rock, Heligoland, 157 n. 1
Netherlandish Dutch, Low German, 182
Neuenburg, Newingburg, 97 n. 1, 205 n. 3, 206
Neugarten, a division of Danzig, 170
Neuminsterberg, 95 n. 3
Neumühlen, Hamburg, 118
Neustadt, in Königsberg, 90 n. 2; in Hamburg, 115 n. 1; in Bremen, 160 n. 3
Neva, river, 138 n. 1
Nevers, Duke of, xliv, 210 n. 2
Nevers, Madame de. *See* Marie Louise, 2nd wife of Vladislaus IV of Poland
Nexö, 219
Nicholas Woolle. *See* Nickelswalde
Nickelswalde, 106
Niedersachsische, a dialect of the German language, the language of Lower Saxony, 101 n. 2
Nieuwendyk, a street in Amsterdam, 70
Nieuw Markt, the, New Market, at Amsterdam, 65
Nightingales, in Germany, xxxvi, 114; absent from Devonshire and Cornwall, 114 n. 2
Nive, river, 86 n. 4
Nogat, river, xxxiii, 89, 93 n. 1, 95 n. 3, 195 n. 2, 207
Norman, Norwegian, xlv, 223 n. 5
North Cape, the, xxxvi, xxxix, 125, 126, 128, 154, 156
North Foreland, 59
Northumberland, 10th Earl of, at Bath in 1639, 7 n. 3; correspondence of, regarding the Spaniards in the Downs, 1639, 39 n. 4
Norway, 155; Coast of, 222; confused with Sweden, 227 n. 5
Norwich, 189 n. 1, 199 n. 4
Nova Kholmogory, Archangel, 135 n. 3
Nove, Polish name for Neuenburg, *q.v.*
Novemiasto. *See* Neuenburg
Novgorod, xxxvii, 134 n. 1
Novy-Dvor, on the Bug, 206 n. 1

Ob, Gulf of, 137 n. 4
Ob, Obi, river, 137 n. 4
Obdorsk, 137 n. 4
Oesel, island, xxxii
Oldenburg, House of, rulers of Denmark and Norway, xxxii
Oldesloe (Old Sloe), Danish garrison town, xxxvi, 113, 114
Oliva, the Olive, Oliffe, near Danzig, xli, 178 n. 3, 183 n. 5; Abbey of, 210 n. 2
Ooievar, Du., stork, 149 n. 4
Oortje, oortke, Dutch coin, 80 n. 1
Oquendo, Antonio de, commander of the Spanish Fleet at the Battle of the Downs, 38, 57 n. 3; escapes to Dunkirk, 42 n. 1
Orders = (Corporations), English and Scottish, at Danzig, 180
Ores y Cordova, Lopes de, Spanish Vice Admiral at the Battle of the Downs, 38 n. 2
Organs, in churches at Amsterdam, 68; in the Pfarrkirche, Danzig, 169, 186, 186 n. 4
Ort, Matthias van, his clock at Lübeck, 163 n. 4
Osney Abbey, 27 n. 4
Ost Vlieland, in the Zuider Zee, 82 n. 4
Ostend, 59
Osterwitt, 97 n. 1
Ostiak, dialect of Samoyedish, 138 n. 4
Otto VI, Count, of Holstein, 121 n. 1
Our Lady's Church, Lübeck. *See* St Mary's Church, Lübeck
Overblow, 165; the term explained, 112 n. 3, 219 n. 2
Owffare. *See Ooievar*
Oysters, Kentish, 57–8
Oxefiord, Mundy's "Oxffortt," 222 n. 3
Oxford, xxviii, xxix, 25–8, 48, 52; University of, 25–6; Divinity

School at, 26 n. 1; Bodleian Library at, 26 n. 1; Anatomical Theatre at, 26; Natural History Museum at, 26 n. 3; Carfax Conduit, 28 n. 2; University Press at, 28 n. 3

Packhaus, Staple, at Kulm, 207 n. 3
Padua, 22
Pagoda, pagode, meaning of, xiii
Pahang, State of, 137 n. 1
Pall Mall, a game. *See* Pell Mell
Pall Mall, London, 44 n. 1
Palma de Matto, explained, xii
Palschau, 194, 205 n. 3, 206, 207
Pampus Shoal, in the Zuider Zee, 82
Papists. *See* Roman Catholics
Pardo, Span., grey, tawny, 41
Parliament, in Warsaw. *See* Reichstag
Parret, river, 25 n. 1
Partisan, spear, 212 n. 4
Partridges, at Heiligenbeil, 107; in Archangel, 149 n. 2
Passages, by sea, cost of, 165 n. 1
Passarge, river, 93 n. 1
Patereros, swivel guns, 160 n. 1
Patriarch of all Russia, xxxviii; of Constantinople, xxxviii
Paulson, Matthias, skipper of the *Fortune off Hambro*, 153
Payne, James, his engraving of the *Royal Sovereign*, xxix, 36 n. 2
Pearl of the Sea, island near Canton, xv
Pell Mell, Paille Maille, Pall Mall, the game described, 44 n. 1
Pembroke, Earls of, Wilton House, the residence of, 49 n. 6
Pen y Fan, the highest Brecknockshire Beacon, 17 n. 1
Penning, a Dutch coin, 80 n. 1
Pennington, Sir John, Admiral, xxix, 34 n. 2, 36 n. 6, 39 nn. 3 and 4, 40 n. 1, 42 n. 1
Penny, English, 147
Penoy. *See* Ponoi
Penryn, Penrin, xxvii, 50, 52, 229; Mundy starts from, 1
Petchka, Russian, a stove, 144 n. 3
Pepys, Samuel, xxxv, 7 n. 4
Peter the Great, at Danzig, xxxv, 102 n. 2; orders Russians to trim their beards, 146 n. 1
Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge, described, xxix, 33
Petersort (Petershore), 105
Petrel, the Fulmar, 125 n. 1; the *Pintado*, 125 n. 2
Petrograd, St Petersburg, 138 n. 1
Pfarrkirche, the, in Danzig, described, 169; organs in, xli, 186 n. 4
Philaret, Patriarch of Russia, xxxviii
Philippa, Queen of Edward III, 55 nn. 1 and 2
Piazza, a covered market place, 63 n. 2
Picaro, Span., a vagabond, 41
Piceto, Augustino, Genoese doctor, 189 n. 1
Pickelhäring (Pickled-herring), Ger., a clown, xli; the term explained, 182 n. 1
Pickelhärings-Spiel, 182
Pictures, in Amsterdam, 70; in the Junkerhof, Danzig, 179 n. 2; at Glückstadt, 120, 157; Gabriel Engels' at St Catherine's Church, Hamburg, 116 n. 3
Picul, capacity of a, xi–xii
Pigeon, the Cape. *See Pintado*
Pignon, English for pine-kernel, 188 n. 4
Pill. *See* Crockern Pill
Pillars, octagonal, in St Mary's, Lübeck, 163 n. 5
Pillau, on the Frisches Haff, 92, 93, 102 n. 4
Pine-apple, meaning pine kernel, 188 n. 3
Pine-kernel, 188 nn. 3 and 4
Pinneberg (Hamburg), 117 n. 4, 121 n. 1
Piñon, Span., pine-kernel, 188 n. 4
Pintado, a petrel, the Cape pigeon, 125 n. 2
Pirates, the Baltic, free from, 87 n. 1. *See also* Dunkirkers
Pitchcroft, the, at Worcester, 23 n. 4
"Plat Deutch," used to describe "a kind of German," 101 n. 2
Plock, Plotsk, Plotskee, xliv, 205 n. 3, 206
Plymouth, Plinmouth, 152; Civil War in, xlvi, 224 n. 4
Plymouth Sound, 224
Podgorz, Poland, 100
Podolia, Poland, 94 n. 3
Poland, extent of, xxxii, xxxiv, 94 n. 3, 100, 167 n. 1; Great, 206 n. 4; Little, 94 n. 3; as a Kingdom, 167; country parts described, 200 n. 2; defence of

Danzig against, 170 n. 1; position of, in Thirty Years' War, xxxii; trade between Danzig and, 183 n. 4; gentry and people of, 183; life of the people of, in Mundy's time, described, xliii; Germans in, xliii
Poland, King of, 171 n. 2, 182, 185 n. 1; bodyguard of, 191 n. 1; claim of, against Brandenburg, 105 n. 1. *See also* Vladislaus IV
Poland, Queen of. *See* Marie Louise Gonzaga
Poles, the, manners of, 201; power of the nobles, 183, 201–2; costumes of, 190, 192, 201; hair dressing of, 190 n. 2; dancing of, 190–1; position of peasantry of, 183, 201
Polesia, province, 94 n. 3
Polishaw. *See* Palschau
Pollack, fish, 222 n. 5
Polluscoe. *See Polushka*
Polonia. *See* Poland
Polushka, Russian coin, 147 n. 1
Pomerania, xxxiii, 88 n. 1, 90 n. 3
Pomerania, Duke of, *i.e.* Elector of Brandenburg, 207 n. 4
Pomerellen, province of, 167 n. 1
Pond, pound, a Dutch coin, 79, 80 n. 1
Ponoi, xxxvii, 133
Ponoi, river, 133
Pood, Russian weight, 147
Portland, 127
Portland Race, 154
Portland stone, carts for carrying, xi
Portsmouth, 209
Poshtin, a skin coat with the hair on, 136 n. 6
Potsgarre. *See* Podgorz
Praam, pram, Dutch, a flat-bottomed lighter, 83 n. 2
Praga, near Warsaw, xliv, 205 n. 1
Prague, 175, 221 n. 1
Prāhu, *prāu*, a boat, 208 n. 2
Prain, Sir David, on Stratton garlic, 1 n. 2
Pregel (Preil), river, xxiv, 90 n. 2, 92 nn. 1 and 2, 93 n. 1, 94, 104
Prinsengracht, Amsterdam, 69 nn. 2 and 3
Prophett Daniell, the, ship, Mundy sails to England in, xlv, 219
Prospective glass, meaning both telescope and microscope, 231
Providence, the, with the Royal fleet in the Downs, 1639, 39 n. 3
Prow. *See Prāhu*
Prussia, 216; under the Elector of Brandenburg, xxxiv; West, xxxii, 167 n. 1; Duchy of, xxxii; compared to India, 188 n. 2; as a Kingdom, 167
Prussia, Duke of, Albrecht Friedrich, xxxiii, 90 n. 3; Elector of Brandenburg as, 90 n. 2
Pudoshem Channel, the, Archangel, 154 n. 1
Pulo Aor. *See* Aor, Pulo
Pulo Tioman. *See* Tioman, Pulo
Punishments, at Danzig, 172–5; in Archangel, 150
Puns, Mundy's fondness for, 101 n. 1
Putziger Nehrung, xxxv, 112 n. 4

Queenborough, xxx, 54, 57, 58, 112; described, 55; Castle of, 55–6; named after Queen Philippa, wife of Edward IV, 55 n. 1
Quintal, quintally, a hundredweight, 204 n. 5; a picul, xi

Räcker-Kneckt, Ger., hangman's servant, 173 n. 2, 176; pardoned convicts, 176
Radaune, river, 89 n. 1
Rade de Danzig. *See* Danzig Road
Radnor, 20
Rahat, Persian wheel, in Warsaw, 203 n. 3
Rammekens, a "cautionary town," Holland, 60 n. 1
Raphael, pictures of, at Whitehall, 44–5, 45 n. 1
Rasp House, the, a prison at Amsterdam, 73, 74 n. 1
Rathaus, at Bremen, 159 n. 5; at Danzig, 210; at Thorn, described, 99, 99 n. 2; at Warsaw, 205
Rathsherr, alderman, 176
Ratzeburg, beer of, 163 n. 2
Rava, province of Poland, 198 n. 3
Ray, fish, use of, to create false monsters, 199–200, 199 n. 4
Reaal, a Dutch silver coin, 79, 80 n. 1. *See also* Real of eight
Real of eight, 147
Red hides. *See* Russia leather
Red Sand, the, off Queenborough, 58 n. 1
Red Sea, the, cause of the name, 155 n. 2
Reichstag, Polish Parliament, xliv, 200 n. 3, 201

Reichsthaler. *See* Rix-dollar
Reindeer, 137–8
Rembrandt van Rijn, painter, 70 n. 2
Reynolds, Robert, comedian, 182 n. 1; inventor of Pickelhäring, 182 n. 1
Rheita, Schyrleus de, his *Oculus Enoch et Eliæ*, discussed, 231 n. 1
Rhijstrom, river, 119 n. 4
Rice a gant. *See* Morgan, Rice
"Rifling-pieces" (guns), at Danzig, described, 178 n. 4
Riga, xxxii, 83, 87
Riggshofftt. *See* Rixhöft
Rix-dollar, value of, 147, 165 n. 1, 184 n. 4
Rixhöft, by Danzig, 88, 165, 219
Roane. *See* Rouen
Robert Courthose, effigy of, Gloucester Cathedral, xxvii, 12 n. 3
Robinson, —, comedian and collector of rarities, 47
Robkau, 194
Rochester, xxix, 37; bridge at, 34 n. 3; castle of, 34
Rock Island, Heligoland, 157 n. 2
Rokin, the, Amsterdam, 73 n. 1
Roman Catholics, in Danzig, 168
Romanoff (Romanov) Mikhail, of Russia, xxvi, xxxvii, 145 n. 1, 152 n. 1; proposed marriage of his daughter, xliv, 209 n. 2
Rome, Hôtel de. *See* Hôtel de Rome
Rosamond's Bower, Rosamund's Well, Labyrinth at and ballad of, 28 n. 4
Rose-noble, 220 n. 3
Rosin and amber discussed, 108
Ross, Herefordshire, xxviii, 14
Rostock, xxxv, 113
Rotterdam, xxx, 53, 54 nn. 1 and 3; described, 61–3; English and Scotch in, 62 n. 1; statue of Erasmus in, 62 n. 2; Groote Markt in, 62; distance between De Brielle and, 111
Rouble, Russian coin, value of, 147 n. 1
Rouen, 25 n. 1, 197
Rought-house. *See* Rathaus
Rowe, Walter, name of two musicians at Brandenburg in the 17th cent., xxxv, 104 n. 2
Royal Sovereign, the, ship, described, 35–6, 48–9; John Payne's engraving of, xxix, 36 n. 2
Royston, James I's Palace at, xxix, 31–2, 32 n. 1
Rubens, picture of, at Whitehall, 44–5
Rügen, island, 112
Rumbledowse. *See* Rummeldeus
Rummeldeus, rummeldeisz, rummeldossz, a white beer, 163 n. 2
Rumpelbier, 163 n. 2
Rundles, round glass windows in churches, 37 n. 3
Russ. *See* Russians
Russia, religion in, xxxix, 142–3; introduction of Christianity in, 143 n. 1; autonomous Church in, xxxviii; passes required in, 145; Grand Duke of, xxxvii; historical sketch of monarchy of, xxxvii–xxxviii
Russia Company, the, 136 nn. 1 and 3, 150 n. 6, 152 n. 1
Russia leather, 150 n. 3
Russians, 145, 150, 151; costumes of the, 145–6 and Plate VI; never cut their beards, 146 n. 1
Rutcher, rudder, 197 n. 4

Sacrocheene. *See* Zakroczyn
St Alban, the protomartyr of Britain, xxix, 30 n. 4; his tomb, 30
St Albans, St Albon, St Albones, Abbey of, xxviii, 30–1; monuments in, 31
St Alexander Nevsky, xxxvii
St Ansgarius' Church, Bremen, 159 n. 4
St Anthony's Hospital, London, 48 n. 4
St Bartolomeo de Costa, near Genoa, 189 n. 1
St Catherine's Church, Hamburg, 115 n. 5; described, 116; pulpit in, 116 n. 1
St Dominic, 189 n. 2; Place of, Danzig, 189 n. 2
St Faith's Church, London, xxv, 47 n. 4
St Jacob's Church, Hamburg, 115
St James, the, ship. *See Santiago*
St James's Church, Bristol, 11 n. 1
St James's Palace, London, 44 n. 1
St James's Park, London, 44 n. 1
St John Evangelist, Mundy's ship from Hamburg to Archangel, xxxvi, 118; part of the Spanish Fleet that escaped from the Battle of the Downs, 118

St John's College Chapel, Oxford, xxviii, 27
St John's Eve, 86 n. 4
St Joseph of Arimathæa, reputed tomb of, at Glastonbury Abbey, 4 n. 3
St Mary's Chapel (French Protestant), London, 68 n. 4
St Mary's Church, Danzig, 169 n. 2
St Mary's Church, Lübeck, 163 nn. 4 and 5
St Mary Magdalene's Church, Taunton, 3 n. 5
St Mary Redcliff Church, Bristol, 9 n. 2
St Mary the Virgin's Church, Bridgwater, 4 n. 1
St Mary's Gate, Worcester. *See* Edgar Tower
SS. Mary and Sexburga, convent of, Isle of Sheppey, 56 n. 3
St Michael Archangel, xxxvii, 135, 166; Castle of, 135, 151; Fort of, 136 n. 4; monastery of, 134 n. 1, 135 n. 3, 136 n. 4
St Michael's Mount, Abergavenny, xxviii, 15 n. 5
St Michael's Tower, on Glastonbury Tor, 6 n. 1
St Nicholas, Archangel, monastery of, 134 n. 1, 135 n. 3; fort of, xxxviii, 134 n. 1; harbour of, 136 n. 1
St Nicholas Bay. *See* White Sea
St Nicholas' Church, Amsterdam, 68 n. 3
St Nicholas' Church, Hamburg, 115 n. 4; picture in, 116; clock of, 116
St Olaf's Church, Elsinore, 85–6, 85 n. 2
St Paul's Cathedral, Old, London, xxv, 30 n. 3, 47 n. 4, 48 n. 3, 169 n. 2
St Peter's Cathedral, Bremen, 159 n. 4
St Peter's Cathedral, Hamburg, 115
St Peter's Church, Tiverton, 3 n. 3
St Petersburg, xxxviii, 138 n. 1
St Stephen's Church, Bremen, 159 n. 4
St Ursula's Church, Delft, 63 n. 3
St Vincent's Spring, Bristol, 11 n. 4
St Vladimir, xxxvii
Salisbury Cathedral, steeple of, 49
Salisbury, Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of, 29 n. 3; William Cecil, 2nd Earl of, 30 n. 2
Salisbury Plain, 25
Salt, springs of, in England, 50, 51 nn. 1 and 4
Samogetia, Samoyeda, the country of the Samoyeds, 137 n. 4
Samoyeds, the, names for, 137 n. 4; described, 136–8, 137 n. 4; meaning of the term, 136 n. 5; language of, xxvi, lxxxix, 138–42; dialect of, 138 n. 4; costume of, 138 and Plate V, visits of, to St Petersburg, 138 n. 1
Samuter, Samout. *See* Samoyeds
Sand Island, Heligoland, 157 n. 2
Sandwich, xxix, 40
Sanniki, Poland, 194
Santa Teresa, the, Spanish Vice-Admiral's ship at the Battle of the Downs, xxix, 38; sunk, 41, 42
Santiago, the, Spanish admiral's ship at the Battle of the Downs, xxix, 38; escapes to Dunkirk, 42
Saras, saros, crane, 149 n. 3, 202 n. 4
Scarlet Island. *See* Hven, island
Scattergood, Mr Bernard, 232 n. 1
Scethrog, near Brecknock, 16 n. 2
Scharfrichter, Ger., a hangman, xli, 174 n. 1; described, 175–7 and Plate IX; his privileges and position, 176 n. 3; an official bonesetter, 176; a master-scavenger, 176
Schelling, a Dutch coin, 80 n. 1
Schiedam, Holland, 61 n. 2
Schiefs Garten. *See Schützenhaus*
Schipper, Du., skipper, 118
Schiwelichte Thurm, the, at Marienburg, story of, 195 n. 2
Schleswig, Duchy of, xxxii
Schlittschuhe, Ger., skates, 208 n. 3
Schloss, Ger., castle, 94
Schlossplatz, the, at Glückstadt, 157 n. 3
Schmergrube, Smeregrove, 106; amber at, 107
Schone, Shone. *See* Malmohus
Schönwarling, 97 n. 1
Schönwarling, 96, 97 n. 1
Schöpfen, amber fishing, 108 n. 1
Schottland, a division of Danzig, 102 n. 1; Alt, xli, 170 n. 2
Schout, Du., a mayor or sheriff, 76
Shrittshooes. *See Schlittschuhe*
Schroder, Hans, Master of the *St John Evangelist*, Mundy's ship

from Hamburg to Archangel, 118; escaped from the Battle of the Downs, 118 n. 2
Schuit, Du., a river boat, 62 n. 3; passages by, 62, 62 n. 5; travelling by, 64; land-portage for, 64 n. 3
Schützenhaus, Ger., shooting-hall, 178 n. 4
Schwarzburg, beer from, 163 n. 2
Schwarzenberg, a Minister, of the Elector of Brandenburg, 105 n. 1
Schwetz, Swiescie, 205 n. 3, 206, 207; castle of, 207 n. 4
Schwinge, river, 118 n. 3
Sclater, Mr W. L., notes supplied by, 51 n. 3, 203 n. 2
Scompe, 96
Scotch, in Rotterdam, 62 n. 1; at Thorn, 100 n. 4; in Europe, 100 n. 4; in Bremen, 158 n. 2
Scotland, 155; name of a division of Danzig, 170 n. 2
Scots, xli, Order of the, at Danzig, 170 n. 2, 180 n. 2; caps worn by the, 198
Screw, screw pile, 67 n. 1
Scyrrid Hill. *See* Skirrid Fawr
Seals, dappled and white, 112
Seine, river, 25 n. 1
Serfs, the Russian, origin of, xxxviii
Severn, river, 22, 24; the bore in, at Gloucester, xxviii, 24–5, 25 n. 1; the Little, at Worcester, 23 n. 4
Sexburga, Queen, founds Minster Abbey, 56 n. 3
S'Gravenhaege. *See* Hague, the
Shah Jahan, Mughal Emperor, 136 n. 3
Shamanism, Central Asian, 137 n. 3
Sheld-duck, Sheldrake, the Ruddy, 203 n. 2
Shenewarincke. *See* Schönwarling
Sheppey, Isle of, 55 n. 2, 56, 59; Castle of, described, 55 n. 2
Sherazzee, *shirāzī*, a mantilla, 117 n. 3
Shih, picul, xi
Ships: *Allex*, 54 n. 1; *Amelie*, xxix, 39; *Amy*, 54 n. 1; *Ann Royal*, xi; *Content*, xxx, 53 nn. 2 and 4, 54 n. 1; *Golden Sun* (Danish), 209 n. 3; *Fortune off Hambro*, xxxix, 153; *Fortune off Lubecke*, xl, 164–5; *Hope*, xxxii, 82; *James*, 39 n. 3; *Justice of Lubecke*, xxxv, 112; *Leopard*, 39 n. 3; *Mary and Hanna*, 53 n. 4; *Merhonour, Merhonneur*, 36 n. 4; *Morning Starre*, xlvi, 224; *Prophett Daniell* (of Lübeck), xlv, 219; *Providence*, 39 n. 3; *Royal Ship*. *See Royal Sovereign*. *Royal Sovereign*, xxix, 35, 35 n. 5, 36 nn. 1 and 2; *St James*. *See Santiago*; *St John Evangelist*, xxxvi, 118; *Santa Tereza*, xxix, 38 n. 2, 41, 42; *Santiago*, xxix, 38, 42; *Sovereign of the Seas*. *See Royal Sovereign*. *Teresa*. *See Santa Tereza*. *Unicorn* (Royal ship), xxix, 39 n. 3; *Unicorn* (Merchant ship), 39 n. 3; *Vanguard*, 39 n. 3; *Victory*, 39 n. 3
Shivering Sand, the, 58 n. 1
Shooters Hill, 34
Shooting competitions in England, 10 n. 4
Shoreditch, Mr Robinson's curio exhibition at, 47
Shuisky, Demetrius, imprisoned in Gostynin Castle, xlii, 199 n.; tomb of, at Warsaw, 179 n. 2
Shuttleworth, Mr C. B., his notes on Worcester, 22 n. 6, 23 n. 3
Siberia, 137 n. 4
Sibir, Land of the. *See* Siberia
Siefert, Paul (Syfertas, Sivert), organist at Danzig, xli; account of, 186 n. 3
Sigismund III, of Poland, 204 n. 3; dissolves English staple at Elbing, 89 n. 4; builds a tomb to Demetrius Shuisky at Warsaw, 199 n. 2
Sigismund Square, Warsaw, 199 n. 3
Silver, ratio of, to gold (Chinese), xv
Singapore, Straits of, xiii
Singelgracht, Amsterdam, 69 n. 3
Singers, street, in Danzig, 185–6, 186 n. 1
Singknecht, Gregor, Dutch artist, at Königsberg, 92 n. 1
Sittingbourne, 40
Skagen, Schagen, Cape, xxxii, xlv, 84, 221, 222. *See also* Skaw, the
Skarsvaagnæring, headland, 126 n. 1
Skates, new in South England in early 17th cent., 103 n. 1
Skaw, the, Denmark, 84 n. 1
Skelder Bay. *See* Kulla Bay
Skirrid Fawr, the Holy Mount, near Abergavenny, 15 n. 5; view from, 16
Skitchroke. *See* Scethrog

Skrwa, river, 206 n. 3
Sladen, Mr F. D., note supplied by, 231 n. 1
Slater, Rev. H., his note on University Printers in Oxford, 28 n. 3
Slokomb, Thomas, an English innkeeper on the Frisches Haff, 90
Slott. *See* Schloss
Sluzewo, 194
"Smarga," the term discussed, 192 n. 3
Smoking to death, a punishment, 172 n. 2
Smolen Island, 155 n. 1
Smolensk, 204 n. 4
Snedker, Jesper, of Kronborg, a pulpit by, in St Olaf's at Elsinore, 86 n. 1
Snow, fall of, in June 1639, on Exmoor, 3 n. 4
Sochaczew, 194
Sole Bay, Sollhaven, Sowl Bay. *See* Southwold
Soon, a fishing town in Norway, 223 n. 4
Sophie Amalie of Brunswick-Luneburg, wife of Frederick III of Denmark, 158 n. 2
Sorga, river, 89 n. 6, 93 n. 1
Sorö, island, xxxix, 154
Sound, the, xxxiii, 165 n. 1, 220, 221; position of, 83 n. 4; Danish dues in, 85 n. 1
Southwold, 223; old names for, 223 n. 7
Spanish Fleet, in the Downs, 37–9; escape of some of the, to Dunkirk, 38 n. 1; attacked by Martin van Tromp, 38 n. 3; sickness in, 39; destruction of, 41
Speed, John, his *Great Britaine*, copied by Mundy, 17 n. 1
Spencer, John, English actor at Danzig, 182 n. 1
Spin House, the, at Amsterdam, a prison for women, 73, 74 n. 1
"Spittsgarres," perhaps elvers, 187 n. 2
Splint, name of a Fort at Dunkirk, 42; the Old Mardyck Fort, 42 n. 1
Splinter, the, a sand bank near Dunkirk, 42 n. 1
Spurs, of fighting cocks, 192–3
Stade, Stode, xxxix, 158, 161, 166; Old English staple, near Hamburg, xxxvi, 118 n. 3; under Swedish rule, 118 n. 3
Stadt, Stadtland, Norway, 155 n. 1
Stanton, near Monmouth, hill at, 15 n. 3
Staple, a factory, authorised place of trade, xxxvi, 89 n. 3; English, at Danzig, xii, 183 n. 1; for corn, 183; for wood, at Königsberg, 183
Stappen, Stapper Islands (Store and Kirke), 125 n. 3
Statthof, 102
Stavoren, Holland, 82 n. 2
Steden. *See* Stevns-Klint
Steereman's Trolle, Styrmands Trold (Norwegian), the Hornet rock, 126 n. 3
Stengade, the, Elsinore, 85 n. 2
Stettin, 95 n. 2
Stevenson, Mr W. H., his note on St John's College, Oxford, 27 n. 2
Stevns-Klint, 220
Stintgarn, Ger., a net for smelts, 106 n. 2
Stithney, Cornwall, Logan Stone at, 50 n. 1
Stockfish, nickname of John Spencer, comedian, 182 n. 1
Stockfish, dried cod, 127 n. 2
Stockholm, 87
Stode. *See* Stade
Stolzenburg, near Danzig, executions at, 177, 177 n. 1
Stonehenge, 49
Stooter, stoter, a Dutch coin, 79, 80 n. 1
Stotehoffte. *See* Statthof
Stour, river, 32 n. 3
Stourbridge (Sturbridge) Fair, Cambridgeshire, xxviii–xxix, 29, 52; described, 32, 32 n. 1; held at Barnwell, 32 n. 1
Stove used for *Stube*, Ger., *stove*, Du., a warmed room, 109, 110 n. 1, 187; described, 110–11; Continental, made of tiles, described, 111 n. 1; origin of English, 111 n. 1; Russian, xxix, 144
Stoves, Russian, described, 144 n. 3; German, xxxv, 144 n. 3
Strand, the, London, 47 n. 3
Strappado, a military punishment, described, 162 n. 1, 172 n. 2
Stratton, Cornwall, garlic industry at, xxvii, 1
Stube, Ger., a heated room. *See* Stove
Stublau, 194
Stuhm, 194; castle at, xlii, 196 n. 2

Stuiver, Du., a penny, 62 n. 4, 79, 80 n. 1
Style (Calendar), Old and New, Mundy's use of, 193
Suetsee. *See* Schwetz
Sumatra, 159 n. 2, 226, 227
Sumptuary laws in Danzig, 168 n. 3
Suppott. *See* Zoppott
Surat, Suratt, 25, 77
Suroy. *See* Sorö
Sviatoi Nos, xxxvi, 131 n. 3; various names for, 131 n. 3
Swallows, folklore as to, 187
Swantspolk, Duke of Pomerania, 207 n. 4
Swearing, German manner of, by a witness, 174–5
Sweatnose. *See* Sviatoi Nos
Sweden, war between Denmark and, 210 n. 1, 220 n. 2; possessions of, in Thirty Years' War, xxxii, 220 n. 2
Swedes, in Pomerania, 88 n. 2; in Elbing, 89 n. 5; in Bremen, 158 n. 2
Swiescie. *See* Schwetz
Synagogues, Jewish, at Amsterdam, 68, 70 n. 1

Table Mountain, 126 n. 2
Tableture, musical notation, 185 n. 4
Tael, xiv; terms for a, xii; exchange value of, xii
Tagwy dialect of Samoyedish, 138 n. 4
Tamar, river, 2 n. 1
Tan, of Canton, xi
Tanjong Penyusok, Point Cockspur, not Point Wetnurse, xiii
Tapiau, on the Pregel, 94
Tarell, river, 18
Tartars, 137; as slaves in Warsaw, 203 n. 1, 204
Taunton, xxvii, 3; church of St Mary Magdalene at, 3 n. 5
Taw, river, 2 n. 4
Telescope, 230; used for a microscope, 231
Temple, G.T., Lieut.-Commander, R.N., notes by, xxxvi, 123 n. 1, 125 n. 3, 154 n. 2, 221 n. 5, 223 n. 3
Tempelburg, in the hills W. of Danzig, 215 n. 3
Terschelling, in the Zuider Zee, 82 n. 2
Tetelhofft, Hans, story of, 174–5
Teutonic Knights, a story of, 195–6; castles of the Order of, xlii, 105 n. 2, 207 n. 4
Tewkesbury, xxviii, 20; the mustard of, xxviii, 20–2, 20 n. 2; the lock (double sluice) at, 22 n. 2
Texel, in the Zuider Zee, 82, 82 nn. 2 and 3
Texel Stroom, a strait into the Zuider Zee, 82 n. 3
Thaler, of Danzig, 181 n. 1
Thame, river, 25 n. 3
Thames, river, 25 n. 3
Thatcher, Mr, a merchant pirated by Dunkirkers, 57 n. 2
Theobalds Mansion, xxviii; exchanged by 1st Earl of Salisbury with James I for Hatfield House, 29 n. 3; Charles I's bedstead at, 29
Thirty Years' War, political geography during, xxxii
Thorn, Thorun, 216 n. 1; Mundy's journey to, xxxi, xxxiv, xliv, 96, 111, 195, 200 n. 1, 205 n. 3, 206; described, 99, 196; bridge over the Weichsel at, described, xlii, 99–100, 196–7, 197 n. 1; political situation, 100 n. 2; Epiphany Fair at, 100 n. 3; Scots at, 100 n. 4; Armenians, Dutch, French at, 100; Jews at, 100 n. 4, 101 n. 1; distance of, from Amsterdam and Venice, 100 n. 3
Thousand, the peculiar sign for a, used by Mundy, 69 n. 1, 161, 166, 169 n. 3, 204, 225
Thumbherr. *See* Domherr
T'iao, tael, xii
Tilting, rustic, at Braunsberg, described, xlv, 213–14
Time, loss and gain of in voyaging, xlvi, 226–7
Tioman, Pulo, 137 n. 1
Titian, pictures by, at Whitehall, 44
Tiverton, xxvii, 3; fires at, 3 n. 2; St Peter's Church at, 3 n. 3
Tolzey, the Old, the Exchange at Bristol, 10 n. 1
Törfisk, Norwegian, stockfish, 127 n. 2
Torglas Common, 18
Torun. *See* Thorn
Touchstone, black marble, properly black or dark jasper (Basanite), 4 n. 2

"Toune Stone," the, at Barnstaple, 3 n. 1
Toys, children's, at Amsterdam, 67 n. 2
Trabanten, Ger., Polish King's bodyguard, 191 n. 1
Train Bands, of London, 48 n. 1
Trauerstube, Ger., a room in the prison, Danzig, 173
Trave, river, 113, 114, 164
Travemünde, port of Lübeck, 113 n. 2, 164 n. 3
Tree Goose. *See* Barnacle Goose
Trevor, Sir Sackvill, 14 n. 6
Trevor, Sir Thomas, judge, 14 n. 6; 19
Tridacna giga, great shell, specimen in the East India House, Amsterdam, 71 n. 1
Trinity College, Cambridge, xxix, 33
Tromp, Martin van, Dutch Admiral, attacks the Spanish Fleet, 38 n. 3
Trondhjem, 155, 155 n. 1
Trunk, speaking tube, 35 n. 4
Trunk-glass, trunk-spectacle, prospective-trunk, a telescope, 216 n. 4
Tsar, 145; = Kaisar, Cæsar, explanation of title, xxxvi; =All-Russian Ruler, xxxvii, xxxviii, 209 n. 2
Tsotang, Chinese assistant district magistrate, xv
Tuenæs, point, near North Cape, 125 n. 3
Tulips, a 17th cent. craze for, xxxi, 75
Tumblers, English, at Danzig, 212
Tun, the Great, at Amsterdam, xxxi, 78; at Heidelberg, xxxi, 78 n. 1 and Plate I, No. 1
Tundra, the, bog country, Russia, 135 n. 2
Turf, peat, as fuel in Holland, 64 n. 4
Turks, hair-dressing of, 190; apparel of, 201
Turnspit dogs, 11
Tu-t'ang, *Tu-t'ung*, *Tu-pu-t'ang*, Chinese Governor General, xiv
Tycho Brache. *See* Brahe, Tycho

Ukrain, the, 203 n. 1
Unicorn, the, Sir John Pennington's ship at the Battle of the Downs, xxix, 39 n. 1
Unicorn, the, a City ship (merchantman), in the Downs, 1639, 39 n. 3
United Provinces of Holland, 65 n. 2
University Press, Oxford, printers at, in the 17th cent., 28 n. 3
University (Divinity) School at Oxford, 26 n. 1
Uranienborg, Uraniburgum, 220; Observatory at, of Tycho Brahe, xlv, 221 n. 1
Usk, River, 18
Utrecht, 69

Vaerö, 154 n. 2
Vagner, Miss M., help of, in Samoyedish language, 138 n. 4; notes supplied by, 151 n. 3, 189 n. 1
Valladolid, statue at, 45; history of, 45 n. 2
Valsterbaum. *See* Falsterbo
Vanguard, the, at the Battle of the Downs, 39 n. 3
Vans. *See* Brecknockshire Beacons
Vardö, islands, xxxvi, 132; various names for, 128 n. 4; a boundary between Norway and Russia, 128 n. 3, 132
Veneen, Du., turf-moors, described, 64 n. 4
Venice, 22; arsenal at, 171 n. 1; distance between Thorn and, 100 n. 3; Jews at, 199 n. 1
Venus (planet), discussed, 230
Vest Fiord, 154 n. 2
Victory, ship, at the Battle of the Downs, 39 n. 3
Virginal, a musical instrument, 76 n. 3
Visitador, Chinese provincial governor, xiv
Vistula, river. *See* Weichsel, river
Vlaardingen, Vlaerdin, oldest town in Holland, 61 n. 2
Vladimir, introduces Christianity into Russia, 143 n. 1
Vladislaus IV of Poland, xxvi, 203 n. 1, 204 nn. 4 and 6; his marriage to Marie Louise de Nevers, xliv, 186 n. 3, 210–11; Italian tastes of, 202 n. 2; gardens of, 202; portrait of, 211
Vladislavia, Poland, 206 n. 4
Vlie, island. *See* Vlieland
Vlie Stroom, a strait into the Zuider Zee, 82 n. 2

Vlieboot, Du., a fast sailing vessel, 83 n. 2
Vlieland, islands, West and Ost, in Zuider Zee, xxxii, 82
Vlot, Du., a raft, lighter, 83 n. 2
Vogelsang, 106
Vogtwerder, island in the Pregel at Königsberg, 90 n. 2
Volga, river, 134 n. 3
Volhynia, 94 n. 3
Vologda, 150 n. 6
Voyages, in Northern Europe and England, why undertaken by Mundy, 1

Wafter, Du. *wachter*, an armed convoy vessel, 83 n. 3
Waggerooe Island. *See* Magerö, island
Walcheren, island, 60
Waldemar, Christian Grev, of Denmark, failure of his marriage scheme, xliv, 208–10
Waldenhoff, near Ahrenburg, 114 n. 4
Wales, Mundy's travels in, 14–20
Walker, Dr T. A., his note on Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge, 33 n. 2
Wallenstein, General, in Brandenburg, 90 n. 3
Waller, Jane, Lady, her monument in Bath Abbey, xxvii, 8 n. 1
Walloons, French Protestants, in London, 68 n. 4
Ward, Sir Adolphus, his note on Peterhouse Chapel, Cambridge, 33 n. 2
Wardhouse, Wardöhuis. *See* Vardö
Ware, the great bed of, xxix, 34 n. 1
Warmoes-Straat, Amsterdam, 70
Warsaw, xxvii, xlii, 182, 205 n. 3, 206, 211; described, 199–205; Royal Castle at, 199 n. 3; tomb of Demetrius Shuisky at, 199 n. 2; Italian engineers at, 203, 204; gardens at, 202–4; cranes at, 202; Arsenal at, 204 n. 3; distance between Danzig and, 194–5
Water, scarcity of fresh, at Amsterdam, 66; supply of, at Amsterdam, 66 n. 1
Waterhouses, at Worcester, 23; in London, 23 n. 4
Weary-all Hill. *See* Werrall Park
Weather, in 1639, 3, 54 n. 5, 64
Weeb, Adam, an engineer of Danzig, 211–12
Wee-en, island. *See* Hven
Weeshuis, Du., orphanage, at Amsterdam, 73 n. 2
Weesp, Wesop, 65; Amsterdam supplied with water from, xxxi, 66, 66 n. 1
Wehlau, on the Pregel, xxxiii, 93, 94
Weichsel, river, xxxiv, xlii, xliv, 97 n. 1, 102, 115 n. 6, 178, 182, 196, 207 n. 1; width of, near Danzig, 88; tributaries of, 93 n. 1; mouths of, 95 n. 3; bridge over, at Thorn, 99–100, 196–7; dangers in navigating the, 109, 208
Weichselmünde, the, at Danzig, 88 n. 4, 112 n. 2
Weiser, Ger., *Weizer*, hand of a clock, used for a dial, 163
Weisshof, 194
Wells, xxvii, 6; Cathedral at, 6; great clock at, 6 n. 2; Vicar's College at, 6 n. 3
Welsh language, used in churches in the 17th cent., 17
Werden, Bishopric of, xxxii, 159 n. 1
Werrall Park, the Holy Thorn in, 5 n. 1
Wesder, river. *See* Weser, river
Wesel, Weesell, river. *See* Weichsel, river
Weser, river, 115 n. 6, 159 n. 1, 160 n. 3
Wessell, river. See Weichsel, river
West India House, Amsterdam, 72 n. 1
Westkapelle, 60
Westminster Abbey, 49
Westphalia, Westfalen, Treaty of, xxxii, 88 n. 1, 158 n. 2
Westphalian Circle, the, 159 n. 1
West Vlieland, in the Zuider Zee, 82 n. 4
Weybridge, Monmouthshire, 15 n. 3
Weymouth, bridge at, 92
Wharton, Mr Leonard C., note supplied by, 205 n. 2
Wheel, water, at Bremen, 161 n. 1; Persian, at Warsaw, 203 n. 3
Wheen Island. *See* Hven Island
Whipping, at Danzig, 172 n. 2; at Archangel, 150
Whispering gallery in Gloucester Cathedral, 13 n. 1, 49
White, Gilbert, his belief as to hibernation of swallows, 187 n. 1
White Fish. *See Beluga catodon*
White Sea, xxxvii, 136 n. 1; the name discussed, 134–5 n. 1

Whitehall, Palace, described, xxx, 45 n. 1; Charles I's pictures at, 44–5, 45 n. 1; Chapel in, 44 n. 2
William the Silent, Prince of Orange, monument to, at Delft, 63 n. 4
Wilson, Canon J. M., his notes on Worcester Cathedral, 22 n. 6
Wilton House, near Salisbury, 49
Windmills, at Archangel, 151
Wing, Vincent, astrologer, his *Almanac*, quoted by Mundy, xlvi, 229 n. 1
Wintergarn, a net for smelts, 106 n. 2
Wismar, 113
Wladislaw. *See* Vladislavia
Wloclawek. *See* Vladislavia
Wolgast, in Pomerania, Duchy of, 88 n. 1
Wolmar, Grave. *See* Waldemar, Christian Grev
Wolsey, Cardinal, his windows at Christchurch, Oxford, 27 n. 3
Women, pregnant, impressions of, by sight, discussed, 189 n. 3
Wonder, the, landslip, Marcle Hill, Kynaston Green, xxviii, 20 n. 1
Wood, Mr J. G., notes by, on Wales, 14–20
Woodstock, King's Manor-house at, 20; Rosamond's well at, 20; labyrinth at, xxvii, 20 n. 4
Worcester, 20, 160; streets of, xxviii, 22 n. 4; Cathedral of, xxviii, 22–3; its organs and monuments, 23 nn. 1 and 2; Edgar Tower at, 23 n. 3; water supply of, 23 n. 4
Wyche, Thomas, at Archangel, 151; family of, 151–2; pedigree of family of, 152 n. 1; his father, 152 n. 1

Y Fan Corn ddu, highest peak of the Brecon hills, 18
Yacht, origin of the term, 178 n. 1
Yagh-sleighs, at Danzig, 177–8. *See also* Jagd
Yalmal Peninsula, 137 n. 4
Yantunus (Anthony). *See* Antonides, Johannes
Yarmouth, 224; North, xlv, 223
Yarmouth man, a certain class of ship, 221, 223
Yawl (yoll, yoal, yole, yoholl), a boat, 128 n. 2, 219
Yellow Sea, the, cause of the name, 155 n. 2
Yenissei dialect of Samoyedish, 138 n. 4
Yopungast. *See* Jopen Gasse
York, Duke of, afterwards James II, 44 n. 3
York House, London, xxx, 45 n. 2; statue of Cain and Abel, at, 45 n. 2
Yughts, *yufts*, Russia leather, 150; various names for, 150 n. 3, 152
Yunkerhof. *See* Junkerhof
Yuriak dialect of Samoyedish, xxxix, 138 n. 4

Zakroczyn, 205, 205 n. 3, 206
Zamek Krolewski, the Royal Castle at Warsaw, 199 n. 3
Zantir, 207 n. 4
Zaporazhian Cossacks, 203 n. 1
Zealand, island, Denmark, 83 n. 4, 87
Zeiloan. *See* Ceylon
Zeughaus, arsenal, at Danzig, described, 170–2, 171 n. 2
Zoppot, watering place near Danzig, xli, 178 n. 3
Zoutboug, the, Amsterdam, 78 n. 1
Zuchthaus, House of Correction, at Danzig, xli, 185 n. 2
Zuchthausplatz, Danzig, 185 n. 2
Zuider Zee, the, xxxi, xxxii, 82
Zwingh, river. *See* Schwinge, river

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2—Select Letters of Christopher Columbus,

With Original Documents relating to the Discovery of the New World. Translated and Edited by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. xc. 240. Index.
(*First Edition out of print. See No.* 43. Two copies only were printed on vellum, one of which is in the British Museum, C. 29. k. 14.)
Issued for 1847.

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With a relation of the great and golden City of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado), &c., performed in the year 1595 by SIR WALTER RALEGH, Knt. . . . Reprinted from the edition of 1596. With some unpublished Documents relative to that country. Edited with copious explanatory Notes and a biographical Memoir by SIR ROBERT HERMANN SCHOMBURGK, Ph.D. pp. lxxv. xv. 1 Map. Index.
(*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1848.

4—Sir Francis Drake his Voyage, 1595,

By THOMAS MAYNARDE, together with the Spanish Account of Drake's attack on Puerto Rico. Edited from the original MSS. by WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY. pp. viii. 65. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1848.

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In search of a Passage to Cathay & India, 1496 to 1631. With selections from the early Records of . . . the East India Company and from MSS. in the British Museum. Edited by THOMAS RUNDALL. pp. xx. 259. 2 Maps.
(*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1849.

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(*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1849.

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And the Islands adjacent, collected and published by RICHARD HAKLUYT, Prebendary of Bristol, in the year 1582. Edited, with notes & an introduction by JOHN WINTER JONES, Principal Librarian of the British Museum. pp. xci. 171. 6. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1850.

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In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. (The Kingdome of Japonia. Harl. MSS. 6249.—The Letters of Wm. Adams, 1611 to 1617.) With a Commentary by THOMAS RUNDALL. pp. xxxviii. 186. 1 Map. 5 Illus.
(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1850.

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By Don Ferdinando de Soto, & six hundred Spaniards his followers. Written by a Gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the action, and translated out of Portuguese by RICHARD HAKLUYT. Reprinted from the edition of 1611. Edited with Notes & an Introduction, & a Translation of a Narrative of the Expedition by LUIS HERNANDEZ DE BIEDMA, Factor to the same, by WILLIAM BRENCHLEY RYE, Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum. pp. lxvii. 200. v. 1 Map. Index. *(Out of print.)* *Issued for* 1851.

10—Notes upon Russia,

Being a Translation from the Earliest Account of that Country, entitled Rerum Muscoviticarum Commentarii, by the BARON SIGISMUND VON HERBERSTEIN, Ambassador from the Court of Germany to the Grand Prince Vasiley Ivanovich, in the years 1517 and 1526. Translated and Edited with Notes & an Introduction, by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. Vol. 1. pp. clxii. 116. 2 Illus.
(Vol. 2=No. 12.) *(Out of print.)* *Issued for* 1851.

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Being the Remarks of Captain W. COATS, in many Voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751. With an Appendix containing Extracts from the Log of Captain MIDDLETON on his Voyage for the Discovery of the North-west Passage, in H.M.S. "Furnace," in 1741-3. Edited by JOHN BARROW, F.R.S., F.S.A. pp. x. 147. Index.
(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1852.

12—Notes upon Russia.

(Vol. I.=No. 10.) Vol. 2. pp. iv. 266. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. Index.
(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1852.

13—A True Description of Three Voyages by the North-East,

Towards Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch in the years 1594, 1595 and 1596, with their Discovery of Spitzbergen, their residence of ten months in Novaya Zemlya, and their safe return in two open boats. By GERRIT DE VEER. Published at Amsterdam in 1598, & in 1609 translated into English by WILLIAM PHILIP. Edited by CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, Ph.D., F.S.A. pp. cxlii. 291. 4 Maps. 12 Illus. Index.
(Out of print. See also No. 54.) *Issued for* 1853.

14-15—The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof.

Compiled by the Padre JUAN GONZALEZ DE MENDOZA, & now reprinted from the Early Translation of R. Parke. Edited by SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, Bart., M.P., F.R.S. With an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S., 2 vols. Index. *(Vol. 14 out of print.)* *Issued for* 1854.

16—The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake.

Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios. [By SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, the Younger.] Collated with an unpublished Manuscript of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Expedition. With Appendices illustrative of the same Voyage, and Introduction, by WILLIAM SANDYS WRIGHT VAUX, F.R.S., Keeper of Coins, British Museum. pp. xl. 295. 1 Map. Index. *(Out of print.)* *Issued for* 1855.

17—The History of the Two Tartar Conquerors of China,

Including the two Journeys into Tartary of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, in the suite of the Emperor Kang-Hi. From the French of Père Pierre Joseph d'Orléans, of the Company of Jesus, 1688. To which is added Father Pereira's Journey into Tartary in the suite of the same Emperor. From the Dutch of Nicolaas Witsen. Translated and Edited by the Earl of Ellesmere. With an Introduction by Richard Henry Major, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. xv. vi. 153. Index.
(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1855.

18—A Collection of Documents on Spitzbergen and Greenland,

Comprising a Translation from F. Martens' Voyage to Spitzbergen, 1671; a Translation from Isaac de la Peyrère's Histoire du Groenland, 1663, and God's Power and Providence in the Preservation of Eight Men in Greenland Nine Moneths and Twelve Dayes. 1630. Edited by Adam White, of the British Museum. pp. xvi. 288. 2 Maps. Index.
(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1856.

19—The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands,

Being the Second Voyage set forth by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. From the (rare) Edition of 1606. Annotated and Edited by Bolton Corney, M.R.S.L. pp. xi. 83. 52. viii. 3 Maps. 3 Illus. Bibliography. Index.
(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1856.

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Comprising the Treatise, "The Russe Commonwealth" by Dr. Giles Fletcher, and the Travels of Sir Jerome Horsey, Knt., now for the first time printed entire from his own MS. Edited by Sir Edward Augustus Bond, K.C.B., Principal Librarian of the British Museum. pp. cxxxiv. 392. Index. *Issued for* 1857.

21—History of the New World. By Girolamo Benzoni, of Milan.

Showing his Travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1556, with some particulars of the Island of Canary. Now first Translated and Edited by Admiral William Henry Smyth, K.S.F., F.R.S., D.C.L. pp. iv. 280. 19 Illus. Index. *Issued for* 1857.

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Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the century preceding the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; from Latin, Persian, Russian, and Italian Sources. Now first Translated into English. Edited with an Introduction by Richard Henry Major, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum. pp. xc. 49. 39. 32. 10. Index.
(Out of print.) *Issued for* 1858.

23—Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico,

In the years 1599-1602, with 4 Maps and 5 Illustrations. By Samuel Champlain. Translated from the original and unpublished Manuscript, with a Biographical Notice and Notes by Alice Wilmere. Edited by Norton Shaw. pp. xcix. 48. *Issued for* 1858.

24—Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, 1539, 1540, 1639,

Containing the Journey of Gonzalo Pizarro, from the Royal Commentaries of Garcilasso Inca de la Vega; the Voyage of Francisco de Orellana, from the General History of Herrera; and the Voyage of Cristoval de Acuña. Translated and Edited by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lxiv. 190. 1 Map. List of Tribes in the Valley of the Amazons. *(Out of print.)* *Issued for* 1859.

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Now called Australia. A Collection of documents, and extracts from early MS. Maps, illustrative of the history of discovery on the coasts of that vast Island, from the beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the time of Captain Cook. Edited with an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. cxix. 200. 13. 5 Maps. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1859.

26—Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6.

Translated for the first time with Notes, a Preface, & an introductory Life of Timour Beg, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lvi. 200. 1 Map. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1860.

27—Henry Hudson the Navigator, 1607-13.

The Original Documents in which his career is recorded. Collected, partly Translated, & annotated with an Introduction by GEORGE MICHAEL ASHER, LL.D. pp. ccxviii. 292. 2 Maps. Bibliography. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1860.

28—The Expedition of Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre,

In search of El Dorado and Omagua, in 1560-61. Translated from Fray PEDRO SIMON'S "Sixth Historical Notice of the Conquest of Tierra Firme," 1627, by WILLIAM BOLLAERT, F.R.G.S. With an Introduction by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lii. 237. 1 Map. *Issued for* 1861.

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A Knight of Seville, of the Order of Santiago, A.D. 1518 to 1543. Translated from an original & inedited MS. in the National Library at Madrid. With Notes and an Introduction by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxxv. 168. 1 Illus. *Issued for* 1862.

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From their first original unto the year of our Lord 1555. By ANTONIO GALVANO, Governor of Ternate. [Edited by F. DE SOUSA TAVARES.] Corrected, quoted, & published in England by RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1601. Now reprinted, with the original Portuguese text (1563), and edited by ADMIRAL CHARLES RAMSAY DRINKWATER BETHUNE, C.B. pp. iv. viiii. 242. *Issued for* 1862.

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By FRIAR JORDANUS, of the Order of Preachers & Bishop of Columbum in India the Greater, *circa* 1330. Translated from the Latin Original, as published at Paris in 1839, in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, of the Société de Géographie. With the addition of a Commentary, by COL. SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B. pp. iv. xviii. 68. Index. *Issued for* 1863.

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In Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, India, & Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508. Translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, with a Preface, by JOHN WINTER JONES, F.S.A., Principal Librarian of the British Museum, & Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by the REV. GEORGE PERCY BADGER. pp. cxxi. 321. 1 Map. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1863.

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From the Gulf of Darien to the City of La Plata, contained in the first part of his Chronicle of Peru (Antwerp, 1554). Translated & Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xvi. lvii. 438. Index.
(Vol. 2 = No. 68.) (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1864.

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In the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, & of the discovery of the South Sea and the Coasts of Peru and Nicaragua. Written by the Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxix. 88. 1 Map. Index. *Issued for* 1865.

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(*Out of print; see also Ser. II., Vol.* 33.) *Issued for* 1866.

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In search of a Passage to Cathaia & India by the North-West, A.D. 1576-8. By George Best. Reprinted from the First Edition of Hakluyt's Voyages. With Selections from MS. Documents in the British Museum & State Paper Office. Edited by Admiral Sir Richard Collinson, K.C.B. pp. xxvi. 376. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1867.

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Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the close of the 16th Century. By Antonio de Morga, 1609. Translated from the Spanish, with Notes & a Preface, and a Letter from Luis Vaez de Torres, describing his Voyage through the Torres Straits, by Lord Stanley of Alderley. pp. xxiv. 431. 2 Illus. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1868.

40—The Fifth Letter of Hernan Cortes

To the Emperor Charles V., containing an Account of his Expedition to Honduras in 1525-26. Translated from the original Spanish by Don Pascual de Gayangos. pp. xvi. 156. Index. *Issued for* 1868.

41—The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas.

By the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. Vol. 1. (Books I.-IV.) pp. xi. 359. 1 Map. Index.
(Vol. 2. = No. 45.) (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1869.

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And his Viceroyalty, from the Lendas da India of Gaspar Correa; accompanied by original documents. Translated from the Portuguese, with Notes & an Introduction, by Lord Stanley of Alderley. pp. lxxvii. 430. xxxv. 3 Illus. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1869.

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With other Original Documents relating to his Four Voyages to the New World. Translated and Edited by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. Second Edition. pp. iv. 142. 3 Maps. 1 Illus. Index.
(First Edition=No. 2.) *Issued for* 1870.

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By SALÎL-IBN-RAZÎK, from A.D. 661-1856. Translated from the original Arabic, and Edited, with a continuation of the History down to 1870, by the REV. GEORGE PERCY BADGER, F.R.G.S. pp. cxxviii. 435. 1 Map. Bibliography. Index. *Issued for* 1870.

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By the YNCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. Translated & Edited with Notes, an Introduction, & an Analytical Index, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. Vol. II. (Books V.-IX.) pp. 553.
(Vol. 1.=No. 41.) *Issued for* 1871.

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Or Book of the Conquest and Conversion of the Canarians in the year 1402, by Messire JEAN DE BÉTHENCOURT, Kt. Composed by Pierre Bontier and Jean le Verrier. Translated and Edited by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. lv. 229. 1 Map. 2 Illus. Index. *Issued for* 1871.

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I. Report of FRANCISCO DE XERES, Secretary to Francisco Pizarro. II. Report of MIGUEL DE ASTETE on the Expedition to Pachacamac. III. Letter of HERNANDO PIZARRO to the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo. IV. Report of PEDRO SANCHO on the Partition of the Ransom of Atahuallpa. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxii. 143. 1 Map. *Issued for* 1872.

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Translated from the original Spanish MSS., & Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xx. 220. Index. (*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1872.

49—Travels to Tana and Persia,

By JOSAFA BARBARO and AMBROGIO CONTARINI. Translated from the Italian by WILLIAM THOMAS, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI., and by E. A. ROY, and Edited, with an Introduction, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. xi. 175. Index. A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries. Translated and Edited by CHARLES GREY. pp. xvii. 231. Index. *Issued for* 1873.

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To the Northern Seas in the Fourteenth century. Comprising the latest known accounts of the Lost Colony of Greenland, & of the Northmen in America before Columbus. Translated & Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. ciii. 64. 2 Maps. Index. *Issued for* 1873.

51—The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse in 1547-55,

Among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil. Translated by ALBERT TOOTAL, of Rio de Janiero, and annotated by SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, K.C.M.G. pp. xcvi. 169. Bibliography. *Issued for* 1874.

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Translated from the Accounts of PIGAFETTA and other contemporary writers. Accompanied by original Documents, with Notes & an Introduction, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. lx. 257. xx. 2 Maps. 5 Illus. Index.
(*Out of print.*) *Issued for* 1874.

53—The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,
Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, and Edited by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum. Vol. 1. pp. lx. 256. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. (Index in No. 69.)
(Vol. 2=No. 55. Vol. 3=No. 62. Vol. 4=No. 69.) *Issued for* 1875.

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(First Edition=No. 13.)

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Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, with Notes and an Introduction, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum. Vol. 2. pp. cxxxiv. 242. 2 Maps. 2 Illus. (Index in No. 69.) *Issued for* 1875.
(Vol. 1=No. 53. Vol. 3=No. 62. Vol. 4=No. 69.)

56—The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Knt., to the East Indies,
With Abstracts of Journals of Voyages to the East Indies, during the Seventeenth century, preserved in the India Office, & the Voyage of Captain JOHN KNIGHT, 1606, to seek the North-West Passage. Edited by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxii. 314. Index.
Issued for 1877.

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During the reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I. [Second edition of No. 1.] Edited by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lii. 453. 1 Illus. Index. *Issued for* 1877.
(First Edition=No. 1.)

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From his capture at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 to his escape and return to Europe in 1427. Translated from the Heidelberg MS., Edited in 1859 by Professor KARL FR. NEUMANN, by Commander JOHN BUCHAN TELFER, R.N.; F.S.A. With Notes by Professor P. BRUUN, & a Preface, Introduction, & Notes by the Translator & Editor. pp. xxxii. 263. 1 Map. Bibliography. Index. *Issued for* 1878.

59—The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator.
Edited by ADMIRAL SIR ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM, K.C.B. pp. xcv. 392. 2 Maps. 15 Illus. Bibliography. Index. *Issued for* 1878.

The Map of the World, A.D. 1600.
Called by Shakspere "The New Map, with the Augmentation of the Indies. To illustrate the Voyages of John Davis. *Issued for* 1878.

60-61—The Natural & Moral History of the Indies.
By Father JOSEPH DE ACOSTA. Reprinted from the English Translated Edition of Edward Grimston, 1604; and Edited by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. Vol. 1, The Natural History Books, I.-IV. pp. xlv. 295. Vol. 2, The Moral History Books, V.-VII. pp. xiii. 295-551. Index. *Issued for* 1879.

Map of Peru.
To Illustrate Nos. 33, 41, 45, 60, and 61. *Issued for* 1879.

62—The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,
Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, with Notes & an Introduction, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., of the British Museum. Vol. 3. pp. xliv. 308. 3 Maps. 3 Illus. (Index in No. 69.) *Issued for* 1880.

63—The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-1622.
Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lix. 192. 8 Maps. 1 Illus. Index. *Issued for* 1880.

64—Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia
During the years 1520-1527. By Father FRANCISCO ALVAREZ. Translated from the Portuguese & Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. xxvii. 416. Index. *Issued for* 1881.

65—The History of the Bermudas or Summer Islands.
Attributed to Captain NATHANIEL BUTLER. Edited from a MS. in the Sloane Collection, British Museum, by General SIR JOHN HENRY LEFROY, R.A., K.C.M.G., C.B., F.R.S. pp. xii. 327. 1 Map. 3 Illus. Glossary. Index. *Issued for* 1881.

66-67—The Diary of Richard Cocks,
Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence (Add. MSS. 31,300-1, British Museum). Edited by SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B., Director of the British Museum. Vol. 1. pp. liv. 349. Vol. 2, pp. 368. Index. *Issued for* 1882.

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By PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEON. 1554. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lx. 247. Index. *Issued for* 1883.
(Vol. 1=No. 33.)

69—The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,
Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, with Notes & an Introduction, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., of the British Museum. Vol. 4. pp. xxxv. 324. 2 Maps. 2 Illus. Index to the 4 vols. *Issued for* 1883.
(Vol. 1=No. 53. Vol. 2=No. 55. Vol. 3=No. 62.)

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From the Old English Translation of 1598. The First Book, containing his Description of the East. In Two Volumes, Edited, the First Volume, by the late ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, Ph.D., C.I.E., Madras C. S.; the Second Volume, by PIETER ANTON TIELE, of Utrecht. Vol. 1. pp. lii. 307. Vol. 2. pp. xv. 341. Index. *Issued for* 1884.

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Afterwards SIR WILLIAM HEDGES, during his Agency in Bengal; as well as on his Voyage out and Return Overland (1681-1687). Transcribed for the Press, with Introductory Notes, etc., by R. BARLOW, and Illustrated by copious Extracts from Unpublished Records, etc., by Col. Sir HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B., LL.D. Vol. 1. The Diary, with Index. pp. xii. 265. Vol. 2. Notices regarding Sir William Hedges, Documentary Memoirs of Job Charnock, and other Biographical & Miscellaneous Illustrations of the time in India. pp. ccclx. 287. 18 Illus. (*Vol. 75 out of print.*) *Issued for* 1886.
(Vol. 3 = No. 78.)

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INDEX

TO THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS, 1874-1922.

Abd-er-Razzak, i. 22
Abyssinia, i. 32, 64; ii. 10
Acosta, Joseph de, i. 60, 61
Acuña, Cristoval de, i. 24; ii. 22
Adams, Will., i. 8, 66, 67; ii. 5
Africa, i. 21, 58, 82, 83, 92-94, 95, 100
Africa, East, i. 32, 35, 64; ii. 10, 44
Africa, West, ii. 6
Aguirre, Lope de, i. 28, 47
Alaminos Anton de, ii. 23
Albuquerque, Affonso de, i, 53, 55, 62, 69
Alcock, Thomas, i. 72, 73
Alessandri, Vincentio d', i. 49
Al Hassan Ibn Muhammad. *See* Hasan
Alvarado, Pedro de, ii. 23
Alvarez, Francisco, i. 64
Alvo, Francisco, i. 52
Amapaia, i. 3
Amat ye Junient, Manuel de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 13
Amazon, i. 24; ii. 51
America, Central, i. 40
America, North, i. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 18, 21, 23, 43, 50, 65, 96, 97
America, South, i. 3, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 45, 47, 51, 60, 61, 68, 76, 77, 80, 81, 91; ii. 3, 13, 14, 15, 22
Amherst of Hackney, Lord, ii, 7, 8
Andagoya, Pascual de, i. 34; ii. 22
Andrew, Bishop of Zayton, i. 36; ii. 37
Angiolello, Giovanni Maria, i. 49
Angola, ii. 6
Aquines, Juan. *See* Hawkins, Sir John
Arabia, i. 32; ii. 16
Arctic Regions, i. 13, 54, 88, 89, 96, 97
Arias, Dr. Juan Luis, i. 25; ii. 14, 15
Arias d'Avila, Pedro, i. 21, 34, 47; ii. 22, 23
Arriaga y Rivera, Julian de, ii. 13
Arromaia, i. 3
Asher, George Michael, i. 27
Asia, i. 5, 8, 13-15, 17, 19, 22, 26, 35-39, 42, 44, 49, 53-55, 58, 62, 66, 67, 69-78, 80, 82, 83, 87; ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 16, 17, 35
Astete, Miguel de, i. 47; ii. 22, 35
Atahualpa, i. 47, 68; ii. 22
Australasia, i. 25; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15, 18
Avila, Francisco de, i. 48; ii. 22
Avila, Pedro Arias d'. *See* Arias d'Avila
Azov, i. 49
Azurara, Gomes Eannes de. *See* Eannes

Badger, George Percy, i. 32, 44
Baffin, William, i. 5, 63, 88, 89
Balak, John, i. 13, 54
Bantam, i. 19
Barbaro, Giosafat, i. 49
Barbosa, Duarte, i. 35, 52, ii. 44, 49
Barcelona MSS., i. 35
Bardsen, Ivar, i. 50
Barentsz., William, i. 13, 27, 54
Barker, Edmund, i. 56
Barlow, R., i. 74, 75, 78
Barrow, John, F.R.S., i. 11
Battell, Andrew, ii. 6
Beazley, Charles Raymond, i. 95, 100; Extra Ser. 13
Behrens, Carl Friedrich, ii. 13
Beke, Charles Tilstone, i. 13, 54
Bell, Harry Charles Purvis, i. 76, 77, 80
Belmonte y Bermudez, Luis de, ii. 14, 15
Bengal, i. 37, 74, 75, 78; ii. 12
Bent, James Theodore, i. 87
Benzoni, Girolamo, i. 21
Bermudas, i. 65, 86
Bermudez, Joaõ, ii. 10
Beste, George, i. 38
Béthencourt, Jean de, i. 46; ii. 21

Bethune, Charles Ramsay Drinkwater, i. 1, 30
Beynen, Koolemans, i. 54
Biedma, Luis Hernandez de, i. 9
Bilot, Robert, i. 88, 89
Birch, Walter de Gray, i. 53, 55, 62, 69
Bollaert, William, i. 28
Bond, Sir Edward Augustus, K.C.B., i. 20
Bontier, Pierre, i. 46; ii. 21
Boty, Iver, i. 13
Bowrey, Thomas, ii. 12
Bracciolini, Poggio, i. 22
Brazil, i. 51, 76, 77, 80
Bridge, Admiral Sir Cyprian Arthur George, G.C.B., ii. 13
British Guiana, ii. 26, 27
British Museum MSS., i. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 25, 38, 52, 53, 55, 62, 65-67, 69; ii. 13, 16, 22
Brown, Dr. Robert, i. 92-94
Brugge, Jacob Segersz. van der. *See* Segersz, Jacob
Bruun, Philip, i. 58
Burnell, Arthur Coke, C.I.E., i. 70, 71
Burre, Walter, i. 19
Burrough, Christopher, i. 72, 73
Burrough William, i. 72, 73
Burton, Sir Richard Francis, K.C.M.G., i. 51
Butler, Nathaniel, i. 65, 86
Button, Sir Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
Bylot, Robert, i. 5, 63, 88, 89

Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez. *See* Nuñez Cabeça, de Vaca
Cabot, John, i. 86
Cabot, Sebastian, i. 5, 12
Cambodia, i. 39
Canarian, The, i. 46; ii. 21
Canary Islands, i. 21, 46; ii. 21
Candelaria, Our Lady of, ii. 21
Cape of Good Hope, i. 22, 36, 37, 82, 83
Carmont, Elizabeth, Extra Ser. 12
Carpino Joannes, de Plano. *See* Joannes
Caspian Sea, i. 72, 73
Cassano, Ussan, i. 49
Castanhoso, Miguel de, ii. 10
Castilla del Oro, i. 34, 47
Cathay, i. 5, 13, 36-38, 54; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37, 38, 41
Champlain, Samuel, i. 23
Chanca, Dr., i. 2, 43
Charles V., Emperor, i. 40, 47; ii. 22, 23, 24
Charnock, Job, i. 74, 75, 78
Cheinie, Richard, i. 72, 73
China, i. 5, 13-15, 17, 36, 37, 39, 54; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37
Christy, Robert Miller, i. 88, 89
Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, i. 33, 68; ii. 22, 31, 42, 54
Cinnamon, Land of, i. 24
Clavigo, Ruy Gonzalez de. *See* Gonzalez de Clavigo
Cliffe, Edward, i. 16
Clifford, George, i. 59
Coats, William, i. 11
Cocks, Richard, i. 8, 66, 67
Cogswell, Joseph G., i. 27
Collinson, Sir Richard, K.C.B., i. 38
Columbus, Christopher:
Journal, i. 86
Letters, i. 2, 43
Congo, ii. 6
Contarini, Ambrogio, i. 49
Conti, Nicolò, i. 22
Conway, Sir William Martin, ii. 11
Cooley, William Desborough, i. 4
Cook, Captain James, i. 25
Coote, Charles Henry, i. 72, 73
Cordier, Henri, ii. 33, 37, 38, 41
Corney, Bolton, i. 19
Corney, Bolton Glanvill, I.S.O., ii. 13, 32, 36, 43
Correa, Gaspar, i. 42
Corte Real, Gaspar, i. 86
Cortés, Hernando, i., 21, 40; ii. 23, 24, 25
Cosmas, Indicopleustes, i. 98
Covel, John, i. 87
Crosse, Ralph, i. 56
Crooke, William, ii. 19, 20
Cumberland, Earl of, i. 59
Cuzco, i. 47; ii. 22

Dalboquerque, Afonso. *See* Albuquerque
Dallam, Thomas, i. 87
Dalrymple, Alexander, i. 25; ii. 14, 15
Dames, Mansel Longworth, ii. 44, 49
Dampier, William, i. 25
Danish Arctic Expeditions, i. 96, 97
Darien, Gulf of, i. 33
Dati, Giuliano, i. 2, 43
Davila, Pedrarias. *See* Arias d'Avila
Davis, Edward, ii. 13
Davis, John, i. 5, 59, 88, 89

De Villiers, John Abraham Jacob, ii. 11, 18, 26, 27
Díaz, Juan, *Clerigo*, ii. 23
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, ii, 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Digges, Sir Dudley, i. 63
Dominguez, Don Luis L., i. 81
Donck, Adrian van der, i. 27
Dorado, El, i. 3, 28; ii, 26, 27
Doughty, Thomas, i. 16
Downton, Nicholas, i. 56
Drake, Sir Francis, i. 4, 16; ii. 34
Drake, Sir Francis, the Younger, i. 16
Drake, John, ii. 34
Dryandri, Joh., i. 51
Ducket, Jeffrey, i. 72, 73
Dudley, Sir Robert, ii. 3
Dutch Voyages, i. 13; ii. 11, 13, 18

East India, ii. 19, 20, 39
East India Company, i. 5, 19
East Indies. *See* India
Easter Island, ii. 13
Eannes, Gomes, de Zurara, i. 95, 100
Egerton MSS., ii. 13
Eden, Richard, i. 12
Edmundson, Rev. Dr. G., ii. 51
Edwards, Arthur, i. 72, 73
Egypt, i. 32
El Dorado, i. 3, 28; ii, 26, 27
Ellesmere, Earl of, i. 17
Elvas, Gentleman of, i. 9
Emeria, i. 3
England, Circumnavigation of, i. 79
Engronelanda, i. 50
Enriquez de Guzman, Alonzo, i. 29
Eslanda, i. 50
Espinosa, Alonso, de, ii. 21
Estotilanda, i. 50
Ethiopia. *See* Abyssinia
Europe, i. 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 49, 54, 58, 64, 72, 73, 79; ii. 9, 11, 17

Ferguson, Donald William, ii. 9
Fernandez de Quiros, Pedro de. *See* Quiros
Figueroa, Christoval Suarez de. *See* Suarez de Figueroa
Fletcher, Francis, i. 16
Fletcher, Giles, i. 20
Florida, i. 7, 9
Fort St. George, i. 74, 75, 78
Foster, Sir William, C.I.E., B.A., ii. 1, 2, 16
Fotherby, Robert, i. 63
Fox, Luke, i. 5, 88, 89
Foxe, Luke. *See* Fox
Frislanda, i. 50
Fritz, Father Samuel, ii. 51
Frobisher, Sir Martin, i. 5, 38, 88, 89
Fryer, John, ii. 19, 20, 39
Furnace, H.M.S., i. 11

Gairdner, James, i. 79
Galvão, Antonio, i. 30
Gama, Christovão da, ii. 10
Gama, Vasco da, i. 42, 99
Gamboa, Pedro Sarmiento de. *See* Sarmiento de Gamboa
García, Genaro, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30
Garcilasso de la Vega, *el Inca*, i. 24, 41, 45; ii. 22
Gastaldi, Jacopo, i. 12
Gatonbe, John, i. 63
Gayangos, Pascual de, i. 40; ii. 22
Gerritsz., Hessel, i. 27, 54; ii. 11
Gibbons, William, i. 5, 88, 89
Gibraltar, Straits of, i. 79
Globes, i. 79
God's Power & Providence, i. 18
Goes, Benedict, i. 36, 37
Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy, i. 26; ii. 21
González y Haedo, Felipe, ii. 13
Goodenough, Lady, ii. 47, 50
Gosch, Christian Carl August, i. 96, 97
Gray, Sir Albert, K.C.B., K.C., i. 76, 77, 80
Great Mogul, ii. 1, 2
Greenland, i. 18, 50, 96, 97
Grey, Charles, i. 49
Grey, Edward, i. 84, 85
Grijalva, Juan de, ii. 23
Grimston, Edward. *See* Grimstone
Grimstone, Edward, i. 60, 61
Gaunches, ii. 21
Guiana, i. 3
Guinea, i. 95, 100; ii. 6

Hackit, Thomas, i. 7
Hakluyt, Richard:
  Divers Voyages, i. 7
  Galvano, i. 30
  Principall Navigations, i. 16, 20. 38, 59; Extra Ser., 1-12
  Terra Florida, i. 9
  Will of, i. 7
Hall, James, i. 5, 88, 89, 96, 97
Harleian MSS., i. 8
Harris, C. A., ii. 26, 27
Hasan Ibn Muhammad, al Wazzān, al Fāsi, i. 92-94
Havers, George, i. 84, 85

Hawkins, Sir John, i. 1, 57
Hawkins, Sir Richard, i. 1, 57
Hawkins, William, i. 57
Hawkridge, William, i. 88, 89
Hedges, Sir William, i. 74, 75, 78
Heidelberg MS., i. 58
Herberstein, Sigismund von, i. 10, 12
Hernandez de Biedma, Luis, i. 9
Herrera, Antonio de, i. 24; ii. 22, 23
Hervé, Juan, ii. 13
Honduras, i. 40
Horsey, Sir Jerome, i. 20
Houtman's Abrolhos, i. 25
Howard, Eliot, ii. 12
Hudson, Henry, i. 13, 27, 88, 89
Hudson's Bay, i. 11, 96, 97
Hues, Robert, i. 79
Hugli River, i, 78; ii. 12

Ibn Batuta, i. 36, 37
Icaria, i. 50
Imâms and Seyyids of 'Omân. i. 44
Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., ii. 52
Incas, i. 41, 45, 47, 48; ii. 22
Incas, Rites and Laws, i. 48; ii. 22
Incas, Royal Commentaries, i. 41, 45; ii. 22
India, i. 5, 22, 32 38, 42, 53, 55, 56, 62, 69, 70, 71, 74-78, 80, 84, 85; ii. 1, 2, 9, 12, 16, 17
India Office MSS., i. 5, 56, 66, 67
Indian Language, Dictionarie of the, i. 6
Italy, ii. 9

James I., i. 19
James, Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
Janes, John, i. 59
Japan, i. 8, 39, 66, 67; ii. 5
Java, i. 82, 83
Jeannin, P., i. 27
Jenkinson, Anthony, i. 72, 73
Joannes, de Plano Carpino, ii. 4; Extra Ser. 13
Jones, John Winter, i. 7, 22, 32
Jordanus [Catalani], i. 31, 36; ii. 37
Jourdain John, ii. 16
Jovius, Paulus, i. 12
Juet, Robert, i. 27

Keeling, William, i. 56
Knight, John, i. 5, 56, 88, 89

Lambrechtsen, i. 27
Lancaster, Sir James, i. 56
La Peyrère, Isaac de, i. 18
La Plata, City, i. 33
La Plata, River, i. 81
Lefroy, Sir John Henry, K.C.M.G., i. 65, 86
Leguat, François, i. 82, 83
Le Maire, Jacob, ii. 18
Lendas da India, i. 42
Leo Africanus, i. 92-94
Leone, Giovanni, i. 92-94
Leupe, P. A., i. 25
Levant, i. 87
Le Verrier, Jean, i. 46; ii. 21
Leza, Gaspar Gonzalez de, i. 39; ii. 14, 15
Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, i. 70, 71
Lockerby, William, ii. 52

McCrindle, John Watson, i. 89
Madras, i. 74, 75, 78
Madrid MSS., i. 29
Magellan, Ferdinand, i. 52
Magellan, Straits, i. 91; ii. 18
Major, Richard Henry, i. 2, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 25, 43, 46, 50
Malay Archipelago, ii. 16, 18
Malabar, i. 35; ii. 44
Maldive Islands, i. 76, 77, 80
Maluco Islands. *See* Molucca Islands
Manoa, i. 3
Marignolli, John de', i. 37; ii. 37
Markham, Sir Albert Hastings, K.C.B., i. 59
Markham, Sir Clements Robert, K.C.B., i. 24, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 41, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 68, 79, 86, 90, 91; ii. 14, 15, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 42, 54
Martens, Friedrich, i. 18
Maudslay, Alfred Percival, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Mauritius, i. 82, 83
Maynarde, Thomas, i. 4
Means, Philip Ainsworth, ii. 48
Mendaña de Neyra, Alvaro, i. 25, 39; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
Mendoza, Juan Gonzalez de, i. 14, 15
Mexico, i. 23; ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
Michon, Marie, Extra Ser., 12, 33
Middleton, Christopher, i. 11
Middleton, Sir Henry, i. 19, 56
Mirabilia Descripta, i. 31
Mogul, The Great, ii. 1, 2
Molucca Islands, i. 19, 39, 52, 76, 77, 80

Molyneux, Emery, i. 79
Montecorvino, John of, i. 36; ii. 37
Montesinos, Fernando, ii. 48
Montezuma, i. 61; ii. 23, 24
Morga, Antonio de, i. 39; ii. 14, 15
Morgan, Henry, i. 59
Morgan, Edward Delmar, i. 72, 73, 79, 83, 86
Mundy, Peter, ii. 17, 35, 45, 46
Munk, Jens, i. 96, 97
Münster, Sebastian, i. 12
Muntaner, ii. 47, 50
Muscovy Company, i. 7, 63; ii. 11

Neumann, Karl Friedrich, i. 58
New Hebrides, ii. 14, 15
New Spain, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
New World, i. 2, 43
Nicaragua, i. 34
Nicopolis, i. 58
Nikitin, Athanasius, i. 22
Nombre de Dios, i. 16
Norsemen in America, i. 2, 50
North-East Voyages, i. 13
North-West Passage, i. 5, 11, 38, 56, 88, 89, 96, 97
Northern Seas, i. 50
Nova Zembla, i. 13, 54
Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar, i. 81
Nuttall, Mrs. Zelia, ii. 34

Ocampo, Baltasar de, ii. 22
Odoric, Friar, i. 36; ii. 33
Ólafsson, Jón, ii. 53
Olaondo, Alberto, ii. 13
Olid, Cristóval de, ii. 23
Oliver, Samuel Pasfield, i. 82, 83
Omagua, i. 28
'Omân, i. 44
Ondegardo, Polo de, i. 48; ii. 22
Orellana, Francisco de, i. 24
Orléans, Pierre Joseph d', i. 17
Ormuz, Kings of, ii. 9
Oviedo, Gabriel de, ii. 22

Pachacamac, i. 47; ii. 22
Pacific Ocean, i. 1, 34, 57; ii. 13, 18
Paraguay, River, i. 81
Parke, Robert, i. 14, 15
Pascal of Vittoria, i. 36; ii. 37
Pegolotti, i. 37; ii. 37
Pellham, Edward, i. 18
Pelsart, Francis, i. 25
Pereira, Thomas, i. 17
Persia, i. 32, 49, 72, 73; ii. 19, 20, 39
Peru, i. 33, 34, 41, 45, 47, 60, 61, 68; ii. 22, 42, 48, 54
Peru, Chronicle of, i. 33, 68
Philip, William, i. 13, 54
Philippine Islands, i. 39
Phillpotts, Miss Bertha S., O.B.E., LL.D., ii. 53
Pigafetta, Antonio, i. 52
Pitt Diamond, i. 78
Pitt, Thomas, i. 74, 75, 78
Pizarro, Francisco, i. 27, 47; ii. 22
Pizarro, Gonzalo, i. 21, 24, 47; ii. 22
Pizarro, Hernando, i. 47; ii. 22
Pochahontas, i. 6
Pool, Gerrit Thomasz., i. 25
Portugal, i. 64; ii. 10
Pory, John, i. 92-94
Powhatan, i. 6
Prado y Tovar, Don Diego de, ii. 14, 15
Prestage, Edgar, i. 95, 100
Prester, John, i. 64; ii. 10
Pricket Abacuk, i. 27
Public Record Office MSS., i. 38
Puerto Rico, i. 4
Purchas, Samuel, i. 13, 56, 63; Extra Ser. 14-33
Pyrard, François, i. 76, 77, 80

Quatremère, i. 22
Quiros, Pedro Fernandez de, i. 25, 39; ii. 14, 15
Quito, The War of, ii. 31

Raleigh, Sir Walter, i. 3
Raleigh Walter, *Professor*, Extra Ser. 12
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, i. 49, 52
Rashiduddin, i. 37; ii. 37
Ravenstein, Ernest George, i. 99; ii. 6
Rawlinson MSS., ii. 17
Recueil de Voyages, i. 31
Remón, Alonzo, ii. 23
Ribault, John, i. 7
Rockhill, William Woodville, ii. 4
Rodriguez, Island, i. 82, 83
Roe, Sir Thomas, ii. 1, 2
Roggeveen, Jacob, ii. 13
Roy, Eugene Armand, i. 49
Rubruquis, Gulielmus de, ii. 4; Extra Ser. 13
Rundall, Thomas, i. 5, 8
Russe Commonwealth, i. 20
Russia, i. 10, 12, 20, 72, 73
Rye, William Brenchley, i. 9

Salil-Ibn-Ruzaik, i. 44
Samarcand, i. 26
Sancho, Pedro, i. 47; ii. 22
Santo-Stefano, Hieronimo di, i. 22
Saris, John, i. 8; ii. 5
Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro, i. 91; ii. 22, 34
Satow, Sir Ernest Mason, G.C.M.G., ii. 5
Schiltberger, Johann, i. 58
Schmidel, Ulrich, i. 81
Schmidt, Ulrich. *See* Schmidel.
Schomburgk, Sir Robert Hermann, i. 3
Schouten, Willem Cornelisz., ii. 18
Scory, Sir Edmund, ii. 21
Seaman's Secrets, i. 59
Segersz., Jacob, ii. 11
Sellman, Edward, i. 38
Shakspere's "New Map," i. 59
Sharpeigh, Alexander, i. 56
Shaw, Norton, i. 23
Siam, i. 39
Silva, Nuño da, ii. 34
Simon, Pedro, i. 28
Sinclair, William Frederic, ii. 9
Sloane MSS., i. 25, 65; ii. 16
Smith, Capt. John, i. 65, 86
Smith, Sir Thomas, i. 19, 63, 65
Smyth, William Henry, i. 21
Solomon Islands, ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
Soltania, Archbishop of, i. 36; ii. 37
Somers, Sir George, i. 65
Soto, Ferdinando de, i. 9, 47
Soulsby, Basil Harrington, ii. 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18
Sousa Tavares, Francisco de, i. 30
South Sea. *See* Pacific Ocean.
Spanish MSS., i. 29, 48
Spanish Voyages, i. 25, 39; ii. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15
Speilbergen, Joris van, ii. 18
Spitsbergen, i. 13, 18, 54; ii, 11
Staden, Johann von, i. 51
Stanley of Alderley, Lord, i. 35, 39, 42, 52, 64
Staunton, Sir George Thomas, Bart., i. 14, 15
Stere, William, i. 13
Storm van 's Gravesande, ii. 26, 27
Strachey, William, i. 6
Suarez de Figueroa, Christoval, i. 57; ii. 14, 15
Summer Islands, i. 65, 86
Syria, i. 32
Tabasco, ii. 23
Tahiti, ii. 13, 32, 36, 43
Tamerlane, The Great, i. 26
Tana (Azov), i. 49
Tapía, Andrés de, ii. 23
Tartary, i. 17; ii. 1, 2, 4
Tavares, Francisco de Sousa. *See* Sousa Tavares, F. de
Teixeira, Pedro, ii. 9
Telfer, John Buchan, i. 58
Temple, Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., ii. 12, 17, 35, 45, 46, 53
Tenerife, ii. 21
Terra Australis, i. 25
Terra Florida, i. 9
Thomas, William, i. 49
Thompson, Sir Edward Maunde, K.C.B., i. 66. 67
Thomson, Basil Home, ii. 7, 8
Thorne, Robert, i. 7
Tibet, i. 36, 37; ii. 33
Tiele, Pieter Anton, i. 70, 71
Tierra Firme, i. 28, 34, 47
Timour, Great Khan, i. 26
Toledo, Francisco de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 22
Tootal, Albert, i. 51
Topographia Christiana, i. 98
Torquemada, Fray Juan de, ii. 14, 15
Torres, Luis Vaez de, i. 25, 39; ii. 14, 15
Toscanelli, Paolo, i. 86
Towerson, Gabriel, i. 19
Tractatus de Globis, i. 79
Transylvanus Maximilianus, i. 52
Tupac Amaru, *Inca*, ii. 22
Turbervile, George, i. 10
Turkey Merchants, i. 87

Ursua, Pedro de, i. 28, 47

Valle, Pietro della, 84, 85
Varthema Ludovico di, i. 19, 32
Vaux, William Sandys Wright, i. 16
Vaz, Lopez, i. 16
Veer, Gerrit de, i. 13, 54
Velasco, Don Luis de, ii. 34
Velásquez, Diego, ii. 23
Vera Cruz, ii. 23
Verarzanus, John, i. 7, 27
Verbiest, Ferdinand, i. 17
Vespucci, Amerigo, i. 90
Vilcapampa, ii. 22
Virginia Britannia, i. 6

Vivero y Velasco, Rodrigo de, i. 8
Vlamingh, Willem de, i. 25
Volkersen, Samuel, i. 25

Warner, George Frederic, Litt.D., ii. 3
Weigates, Straits of, i. 13, 54
West Indies, i. 4, 23; ii. 3, 23
Weymouth, George, i. 5, 88, 89
Wharton, L. C., ii. 52
White, Adam, i. 18
Whiteway, Richard Stephen, ii. 10
Wielhorsky, i. 22
William of Rubruck. *See* Rubruquis, Gulielmus de
Wilmere, Alice, i. 23
Winter, John, i. 16
Witsen, Nicolaas, i. 17, 25
Wolstenholme, Sir John, i. 63, 88, 89
Worlde's Hydrographical Description, i. 59
Wright, Edward, i. 59

Xeres, Francisco de, i. 47; ii. 22

Yncas. *See* Incas
Yucatan, ii. 23
Yule, Sir Henry, K.C.S.I., i. 31, 36, 37, 74, 75, 78; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37, 38, 41

Zarate, Don Francisco de, ii. 34
Zeno, Antonio, i. 50
Zeno, Caterino, i. 49
Zeno, Nicolo, i. 50
Zychman, i. 51

LAWS OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

I. The object of this Society shall be to print, for distribution among the members, rare and valuable Voyages, Travels, Naval Expeditions, and other geographical records.

II. The Annual Subscription shall be One Guinea (for America, five dollars, U.S. currency), payable in advance on the 1st January.

III. Each member of the Society, having paid his Subscription, shall be entitled to a copy of every work produced by the Society, and to vote at the general meetings within the period subscribed for; and if he do not signify, before the close of the year, his wish to resign, he shall be considered as a member for the succeeding year.

IV. The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in a Council consisting of twenty-two members, viz., a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and sixteen ordinary members, to be elected annually; but vacancies occurring between the general meetings shall be filled up by the Council.

V. A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held annually. The Council's Report on the condition and proceedings of the Society shall be then read, and the meeting shall proceed to elect the Council for the ensuing year.

VI. At each Annual Election, three of the old Council shall retire.

VII. The Council shall meet when necessary for the dispatch of business, three forming a quorum, including the Secretary; the Chairman having a casting vote.

VIII. Gentlemen preparing and editing works for the Society shall receive twenty-five copies of such works respectively.

LIST OF MEMBERS.—1924.*

Members are requested to inform the Hon. Secretary of any errors or alterations in this List.

A.

1899 Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, 83, Eaton Square, S.W.1.
1847 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen.
1913 Abraham, Lieut. H. C., Topographical Survey Office, Taiping, Perak, Fed. Malay States.
1895 Adelaide Public Library, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.
1847 Admiralty, The, Whitehall, S.W.1. [2 COPIES.]
1847 Advocates' Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
1924 Alba, Duque de, c/o Messrs. Hatchards, 187, Piccadilly, W.1.
1847 All Souls College, Oxford.
1923 Allan, George, Esq., "Westbank," Peterculter, Aberdeenshire.
1921 Allen, A. C., Esq., 19, Terlingham Gardens, Folkestone.
1919 Allen, William Henry, Esq., Bromham House, Bromham, near Bedford.
1847 American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York, U.S.A.
1923 American Museum of Natural History, 77th Street and Central Park West, New York City.
1901 Andrews, Capt. F., R.N., H.M. Dockyard, Malta.
1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., "Orsett," Derryvolgie Avenue, Belfast.
1919 Anstey, Miss L. M., 23, Cautley Avenue, Clapham Common, S.W.4.
1847 Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
1909 Armstrong, Col. B. H. O., C.M.G., R.E., 24, Montague Road, Richmond.
1847 Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1919 Arnold, Arthur, Esq., Wickham, Hants.
1924 Arnott, L. E., Esq., 2903, Monument Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, U.S.A.
1921 Ascherson, Lieut. S. R., R.N., Stede Court, Harrietsham, Kent.
1847 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1912 Aylward, R. M., Esq., 7a, Avenida Sur, No. 87, Guatemala.

B.

1922 Baddeley, John F., Esq., 34, Bruton Street, W.1.
1922 Baker, Charles C., Esq., Box 296, Lancaster, California, U.S.A.
1920 Baker, G. H. Massy, Esq., Kerema, Gulf Division, Papua.
1925 Baker, J. N. L., Esq., "Celfan," Bickerton Road, Highfield, Oxford.
1909 Baldwin, Rt. Hon. Stanley, Esq., M.P., Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
1918 Bannerman, David A., Esq., M.B.E., B.A., British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W.7.
1893 Barclay, Hugh Gurney, Esq., M.V.O., Colney Hall, Norwich.
1920 Barclay, W. S., Esq., 16, Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.
1919 Barrett, V. W., Esq., 1, Raymond Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.1.
1919 Barry, Eugene S., Esq., 94, Washington Street, Ayer, Mass., U.S.A.

* *Sent to press, February*, 1925.

1899 Bassett, M. René, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Villa Louise, rue Denfert Rochereau, Algiers.
1922 Bavarian State Library, Munich.
1920 Beasley, Harry G., Esq., Haddon Lodge, Shooters Hill, S.E.18.
1913 Beaumont, Major H., O.B.E., The Little Manor, Hurstmonceux, Nr. Hailsham, Sussex.
1920 Bedford-Jones, H., Esq., c/o The Authors' Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1904 Beetham, Charles Gilbert, Esq., Windmoor Heath, P.O., Carlisle, Co. Cumberland, Pa., U.S.A.
1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.
1913 Bennett, Ira E., Esq., Editor *Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
1913 Bewsher, Capt. F. W., D.S.O., M.C., H.Q. Palestine Gendarmerie, Jerusalem.
1921 Bickerton, F. H., Esq., Castle Malwood, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1911 Bingham, Professor Hiram, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
1847 Birmingham Old Library, The, Margaret Street, Birmingham.
1875 Birmingham Public Libraries (Reference Dept.), Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1910 Birmingham University Library.
1899 Board of Education, The Keeper, Science Library, Science Museum, South Kensington, S.W.7.
1847 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
1917 Bombay University Library, Bombay.
1920 Bone, H. Peters, Esq., 5, Hamilton Mansions, King's Gardens, Hove.
1847 Boston Athenæum Library, 10½, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1847 Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1912 Bourke, Hubert, Esq., Feltimores, Harlow, Essex.
1899 Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
1894 Bower, Major-General Sir Hamilton, K.C.B., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
1912 Boyd-Richardson, Commander S. B., R.N., Highfield Paddock, Niton-Undercliff, Isle of Wight.
1924 Bray, Mrs. Constance, Causeway House, Adel, Nr. Leeds.
1920 Brewster, A. B., Esq., Elengrove, Chelston, Torquay.
1919 Brickwood, Sir John, Portsmouth.
1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.
1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, Georgetown, Demerara.
1847 British Museum, Department of Ceramics and Ethnography.
1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
1896 Brock, Henry G., Esq., 1612, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
1920 Brook-Fox, Evelyn, Esq., Tokerwadi, P.O., Poona District, India.
1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1899 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, 197, Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
1922 Brown, A. S., Esq., 52, New Road, Edmonton, N.9.
1899 Brown, Arthur William Whateley, Esq., Sharvells, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
1920 Brown, Dr. C. J. Macmillan, Holmbank, Cashmere Hills, Christchurch, N.Z.
1922 Brown and Lawrence, Messrs., 52, New Road, Edmonton, N.9.

1924 Brown University, East Side Station, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
1916 Browne, Prof. Edward G., M.A., M.B., Firwood, Trumpington Road, Cambridge.
1920 Browne, Lieut.-Comdr. R. R. Gore, Leckhampstead Rectory, Buckingham.
1921 Bryant, George Clarke, Esq., Ansonia, Conn., U.S.A.
1921 Burgoyne, Cuthbert, Esq., Malincourt, Oxshott, Surrey.
1920 Butler, G. Grey, Esq., Ewart Park, Wooler, Northumberland.
1921 Byatt, Sir Horace A., K.C.M.G., Government House, Port of Spain, Trinidad.
1914 Byers, Gerald, Esq., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.

C.

1913 Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N., Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Gloucestershire.
1921 Calcutta, Presidency College Library.
1903 California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
1847 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
1920 Cardinall, A. W., Esq., Springfield, The Weald, nr. Sevenoaks.
1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
1920 Carton, Alfred T., Esq., 76, W. Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1914 Casserly, John Bernard, Esq., The Pacific Union Club, Corner Mason and California Streets, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.
1920 Cathro, E. A., Esq., Longforgan, Dundee, N.B.
1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., Great Somerford, Wilts.
1847 Chetham's Library, Hunt's Bank, Manchester.
1910 Chicago, Geographic Society of, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
1899 Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.
1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., South College, Elgin, Scotland.
1913 Clarke, Sir Rupert, Bart., Clarke Buildings, Bourke Street, Melbourne.
1922 Cleeves, Charles E., Esq., Heddfan, Sketty, Swansea.
1917 Clements, R. V., Esq., The Red House, Findon Hill, Nr. Durham.
1913 Coates, O. R., Esq., H.B.M. Consul, Tengyueh, W. China.
1919 Coleman, H., Esq., 34–36, Golden Square, W.1.
1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.1.
1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
1918 Commonwealth Parliament Library, Melbourne.
1923 Conkling, Roscoe P., Esq., Catskill, New York, U.S.A.
1920 Converse Memorial Library, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass., U.S.A.
1921 Conway, G. R. G., Esq., Light and Power Co., Ltd., Apartado 124 Bis, Mexico City.
1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, M.P., Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent.
1921 Coode, Major Henry P. R., Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.1.
1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Vailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
1922 Coombe, W., Esq., Messrs. Carson & Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon.

1924 Copenhagen, Royal Library, Copenhagen.
1919 Copenhagen University Library, Copenhagen.
1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
1920 Cox, Major-Gen. Sir Percy Z., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., c/o Civil Commissioner, Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
1919 Cozens, J. W., Esq., Gore Hotel, 189, Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
1920 Crandon, Dr. L. R. G., 366, Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1919 Crawshay, Miss Lisa F., Ferneherst, 1, The Park, Cheltenham.
1923 Crowther, Dr. W. L., D.S.O., 180, Macquarie Street, Hobart, Tasmania.
1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.
1893 Curzon of Kedleston, The Right Hon. the Marquess, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.1.

D.

1913 Dalgliesh, Percy, Esq., Guatemala, C.A.
1917 Damer-Powell, Lieut. J. W., D.S.C., R.N.R., "Merton," Southside, Weston-super-Mare.
1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Grönningen, Copenhagen, K.
1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E.
1921 Davis, J., Esq., Edith Villa, Crayford, Kent.
1920 Dawson, Rev. J. C., M.A., Asterby Rectory, Louth, Lincs.
1920 Dearing, F. Morris, Esq., c/o Department of State, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 253, St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, S.W.1.
1919 Derby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., c/o Major M. H. Milner, Knowsley, Prescot.
1899 Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A.
1923 Dickson, P. L., Esq., Western House, The Park, Nottingham.
1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
1923 Dixson, William, Esq., "Merridong," Gordon Road, Killara, Sydney, Australia.
1918 Dominion Museum, The, Wellington, New Zealand.
1919 Douglas, Capt. H. P., C.M.G., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
1920 Douglas, W. Bruce, Esq., Messrs. W. H. & F. J. Horniman & Co., Ltd., 27 to 33, Wormwood Street, E.C.2.
1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
1917 Durban Municipal Library, Natal (Mr. George Reyburn, Librarian).

E.

1924 East, Frank Russell, Esq., 31, Sketty Avenue, Swansea.
1913 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
1921 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoï, Indo-Chine.
1905 Edge-Partington, J., Esq., Wyngates, Burke's Rd., Beaconsfield.
1919 Edgell, Commander I. A., R.N., Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.1.
1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.

1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
1920 Edwardes, H. S. W., Esq., Godshill, Fordingbridge, Hants.
1847 Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
1920 Elger, L. C., Esq., Dick Kerr Works, Box No. 71, Preston.
1913 Eliot, The Rt. Hon. Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., British Embassy, Tokio, Japan.
1922 Emerson, Miss Gertrude, 30, West 9th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1919 English, Ernest E., Esq., c/o The Eastern Telegraph Co., Cairo, Egypt.
1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1917 Essex Institute, The, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
1923 Evans, Montgomery, 2nd, Esq., 900, De Kalb Street, Norristown, Pa., U.S.A.
1922 Eveland, A. J., Esq., University Club, 2A, Bucareli 35, Mexico, D.F., Mexico.

F.

1910 Fairbrother, Colonel W. T., C.B., Kilcoleman Park, Enniskean, Co. Cork, Ireland.
1922 Fairweather, W. Cranston, Esq., 62, Saint Vincent Street, Glasgow.
1899 Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1920 Fenton, A. H., Esq., 10, Vineyard Hill, Wimbledon.
1920 Ferguson, Henry G., Esq., 2330, California Street, Washington, D.C.
1919 Fisher, Gordon, Esq., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.1.
1896 Fitzgerald, Major Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., 228, Upton Lane, Forest Gate, E.7.
1924 Ford, Charles, Esq., 218, West 40th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1893 Forrest, Sir George William, C.I.E., Rose Bank, Iffley, Oxford.
1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Edgartown, Mass., U.S.A.
1893 Foster, Sir William, C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.
1921 Freeman, George B., Esq., c/o D. R. Heaton, Esq., Blackfriars House, Plymouth.
1920 Frere, Major A. G., 1/3 Madras Infantry, c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Bombay.
1920 Freshfield, Douglas W., Esq., D.C.L., Wych Cross Place, Forest Row, Sussex.

G.

1913 Gardner, Harry G., Esq., "The Mount," Kenley, Surrey.
1919 Gardner, Stephen, Esq., 662, West 12th Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1920 Gauntlett, R. M., Esq., 55, Penerley Road, Catford, S.E.6.
1916 Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genoa, Italy.
1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
1920 Gibraltar Garrison Library.
1920 Gibson, Sir Herbert, K.B.E., Estancia Bella Vista, Cachari F.C.S., Buenos Aires.
1920 Gilbert, W. L., Esq., 267, Calle 25 de Mayo, Buenos Aires.
1901 Gill, William Harrison, Esq., Marunouchi, Tokyo.
1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
1913 Glyn, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, Albury Hall, Much Hadham.
1919 Goss, Lieut. C. Richard, Staff Officers' Quarters, Regent's Park Barracks, N.W.1.
1920 Goss, Mrs. George A., 30, Church Street, Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A.

1919 Gosse, Philip, Esq., 25, Argyll Road, Kensington, W.8.
1920 Gostling, A. E. A., Esq., c/o Messrs. Scott & Hume, Maipu 73, Buenos Aires.
1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany.
1877 Gray, Sir Albert, K.C.B., K.C. (*President*), Catharine Lodge, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.3.
1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 70, Scott Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
1920 Grievé, T., Esq., Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.
1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S A.
1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
1923 Guille-Allés Library and Museum, Guernsey.
1887 Guillemard, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge.

H.

1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich, U.S.A.
1922 Haig, Lieut.-Col. Sir T. Wolseley, K.C.I.E., c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1919 Haigh, Ernest V., Esq., C.B.E., Royal Thames Yacht Club, 60, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.
1847 Hamburg Commerz-Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
1922 Hamilton, Sir Robert W., Ford Lodge, Wiveliscombe, Somerset.
1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.6.
1898 Hannen, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
1924 Harlow, Vincent T., Esq., University College, Southampton.
1924 Harman, Capt. H. A., D.S.O., King's College, Lagos, Nigeria.
1916 Harrington, S. T., Esq., M.A., Methodist College, St. John's, Newfoundland.
1906 Harrison, Carter H., Jr., Esq., 409, The Rookery, Chicago, U.S.A.
1918 Harrison, Comdr. R., D.S.O., R.N.R., Camera Club, 17, John Street, Adelphi, W.2.
1919 Harrison, T. St. C., Esq., Central Secretariat, Lagos, Nigeria.
1905 Harrison, Wm. Preston, Esq., 2400, South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
1920 Hart-Synnot, Brig.-Gen. A. H. S., C.M.G., D.S.O., Villa du Golfe, Cap d'Antibes, Alpes Maritimes, France.
1847 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1921 Hatcher, Harry T., Esq., 33, West 42nd Street, New York City.
1920 Hawkes, W. Blackburne, Esq., c/o The Mines Office, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.
1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., Bengeo House, Hertford.
1919 Hay, G. Goldthorp, Esq., 18, Stonebridge Park, Willesden, N.W.10.
1924 Hazlett, Edgar C., Esq., Dunedin, New Zealand.
1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A., Church Hill, Merstham, Surrey (*Treasurer*).
1920 Hedley, Theodore F., Esq., 3, Elton Gardens, Darlington.
1921 Hemingway, Mrs. B. M., 45, Iddesleigh Road, Bournemouth.
1904 Henderson, George, Esq., 13, Palace Court, W.2.
1915 Henderson, Capt. R. Ronald, Little Compton Manor, Moreton-in-Marsh.
1922 Hendry, C. A., Esq., C.T.A. Buildings, 69, St. George's Terrace, Perth, West Australia.
1921 Hill, Donald G., Esq., Mercantile Chambers, Plot No. 22, Graham Road, Bombay.

1920 Hill, H. Brian C., Esq., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Ltd., King's Branch, Calcutta.
1917 Hinks, Arthur Robert, Esq., C.B.E., F.R.S., Sec. R.G.S., 1, Percy Villas, Campden Hill, W.8.
1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.1.
1921 Hirst, Maurice H., Esq., Elmdon Road, Marston Green, Warwickshire.
1920 Hobden, Ernest, Esq., c/o The Eastern Extension Australasia and China Telegraph Co., Ltd., Shanghai, China.
1923 Hodgson, N. V., Esq., P.O. Box 18, Opotiki, New Zealand.
1922 Holstein, Major Otto, Casilla 155, Trujillo, Peru, S. America.
1913 Hong Kong University, c/o Messrs. Longmans & Co., 38, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
1899 Hoover, Herbert Clark, Esq., 8, Old Jewry, E.C.2.
1887 Horner, Sir John Francis Fortescue, K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
1911 Hoskins, G. H., Esq., c/o G. & C. Hoskins, Wattle Street, Ultimo, Sydney, N.S.W.
1915 Howland, S. S., Esq., Union Club, 1, East 51st Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
1922 Hughes, T. E., Esq., Mlombozi, Ntondwe, Zomba, P.O., Nyasaland.
1924 Hull, Lieut.-Col. F. R., Ilhéos, Bahia, Brazil.
1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
1920 Hutton, J. H., Esq., Old Hall, Dolau R.S.O., Radnorshire.
1915 Hyde, Sir Charles, Bart., 2, Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston.
1920 Hyderabad, The Nizam's Government State Library.

I.

1912 Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B., Cockenzie House, Preston Pans, East Lothian.
1847 India Office, St. James's Park, S.W.1. [9 COPIES.]
1899 Ingle, William Brouncker, Esq., 10, Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
1922 Ingram, Capt. W. H., Chake Chake, Zanzibar Protectorate.
1919 Inman, Arthur C., Esq., Garrison Hall, Garrison Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the, Temple, E.C.4.
1923 Institute of Historical Research, London University, Malet Street, W.C.1.
1916 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.
1922 Irish, H. J. H., Esq., 43, Pall Mall, S.W.1.

J.

1920 Jackson, Richard H., Esq., Wellington Lodge, Oldham.
1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 39, East 69th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1911 James, Norman, Esq., The James Lumber Co., P.O. Box D2, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.

1920 Jeffery, Charles T., Esq., P.O. Box 2838, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1922 Jeffreys, M. D. W., Esq., Ikot Ekpene, Southern Nigeria.
1847 John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
1847 Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
1910 Jones, L. C., Esq., M.D., Falmouth, Mass., U.S.A.
1922 Jones, Comdr. C. Harold, D.S.O., R.N., 32, Avonmore Road, London, W.14.
1919 Jourdain, Lieut.-Col. H. F. N., C.M.G., Fyfield Lodge, Fyfield Road, Oxford.
1919 Joyce, T. A., Esq., British Museum, W.C.1. (*Hon. Secretary*) (2).
1922 Jupp, W. D., Esq., Aboyne, 13, St. Quintin's Avenue, N. Kensington, W.10.

K.

1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A.
1917 Kay, Richard, Esq., 1, Brazil Street, Manchester.
1924 Kelso, Wm. G., Jr., Esq., 14, Wall Street, New York City.
1887 Keltie, Sir John Scott, LL.D., 88, Brondesbury Road, N.W.6. (*Vice-President*).
1898 Kinder, Claude William, Esq., C.M.G., "Bracken," Churt, near Farnham, Surrey.
1890 King's Inns, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
1899 Kitching, John, Esq., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
1921 Klein, Walter G., Esq., 7, Eldon Road, N.W.3.
1923 Knickerbocker Club, 807, Fifth Avenue, New York City.
1913 Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.
1910 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie. The Hague.
1922 Kuala Lumpur Book Club, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.

L.

1922 Laithwaite, J. G., Esq., India Office, S.W.1.
1899 Langton, J. J. P., Esq., 230, West 108th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
1899 Larchmont Yacht Club, Larchmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
1913 Laufer, Berthold, Esq., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
1920 Laycock, Major T. S., M.C., 88, Dunvegan Road, S.E.9.
1923 Layman, Eric, Esq., The Salvador Railway Co., Ltd., San Salvador, C.A.
1923 Lee, Bertram T., Esq., Calle Sánchez Carriôn, B., Barranco, via Lima, Peru.
1919 Leeds Central Public Library, Leeds.
1899 Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds.
1899 Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of Leipzig.

1912 Leland Stanford Junior University, Library of, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
1912 Lind, Walter, Esq., Finca Helvetia. Retalhuleu, Guatemala, C.A.
1923 Lisbon, Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisbon, Portugal.
1847 Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool.
1899 Liverpool, University of Liverpool.
1921 Loch, E. R. A., Esq., 515, City Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
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